Daily Report

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Berisha Warns of Delay in Helping Flooded Areas

AU0601153693 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 6 (ATA)—On January 5 at noon, the President of the Republic Sali Berisha had a working meeting with the government commission, raised to eliminate the flood effects in the northern zone, and with leading cadres of the local government of this zone.

At the beginning of the meeting, Rexhep Uka, chairman of the commission, presented the president with the current situation in these zones, the ongoing performance of the government commission, and the problems which are not yet solved. He reconfirmed once again that the damages caused by the flood are great, but these damages also include those inherited from the past. The total damage amounts to 9 million U.S. dollars, including the damage in houses, bridges, dams of the hydro-power stations, infrastructure, etc.

Until now the work has been concentrated on the construction and repairing of houses and the distribution of food aid, until now, to over 800 families and other parcels are ready to be distributed. Considerable areas of land have also been resown until now. The government and international organisations are also helping to see to the possibility of substituting the number of the cattle damaged. In continuation, Mr. Uka considered that the first phase of emergency has ended and the second phase begins, during which the flood effects will be completely eliminated.

The chairmen of the District Councils of Lezhe, Lac, and Mirdite also reported in this meeting.

In the end, President Sali Berisha also took the floor. After praising the ongoing performance by the government commission to eliminate the flood effects and of the local government organisations in these zones, the president said that possibilities to improve the situation in the flooded areas have been greater and procrastination noticed in this aspect is unforgivable. Further on, President Berisha said: I agree that the government commission has lacked the necessary experience, but it should have better coordinated the work with the local government and that the suspicious associations should not be allowed to incite corruption in Albania. In this relation, the president instructed that from now on, all the aid, wherever they come from, should be distributed by the government commission, which will be permanent.

During this meeting, the president also gave the necessary instructions, so that the situation improves as soon as possible.

Memorandum With EC on Border Control Takes Effect

AU0601142893 Tirana ATA in English 0923 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 6 (ATA)—On January 4, the memorandum of understanding on the supervising mission of the European Community signed on December 21, 1992 by the Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and the minister of state at the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Commonwealth, Douglas Hogg, came to force.

The supervising mission is expected to arrive in Albania recently. According to this memorandum, the Albanian Government takes action to accommodate the members of the mission in Tirana and Kukes, measures for their security, providing them with all the privileges and diplomatic immunity exempted from any kind of taxes and tariffs. They come with the mission to contribute to the stability of the Balkan region.

This mission, as a component part of the preventive policy approved at the international forums, will control the north Albanian border in order to prevent the extension of conflict from Bosnia-Hercegovina to the other countries of the region. This act of cooperation and understanding testifies to the open policy and constructive stand maintained by the Albanian Government in solving the crisis in former Yugoslavia. It is another step in the relations of Albania with the European Community in the field of security. Hence, Albania confirms once again its already known stand in solving the crisis through political means and that it is against changing borders by force.

Prosecutor Files Charges Against Ex-Leaders

AU0701113493 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 16 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by Ndreke Gjini "after a conversation" with Marenglen Rrapi, chief of the group charged to investigate the criminal case of former high-level party and state leaders: "The Policy of Genocide and Abuses With Treasury"]

[Text] By the decision of the Tirana District Court, the criminal case against Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli was separated from the criminal case against other former high-level party and state leaders. After the investigations ended, the inquiry files of both aforementioned defendants have been passed to the court for examination and trial.

What is being done with the criminal case against the other former party and state leaders? Is the Investigation Office working to testify with specific evidence the policy of genocide that they have exercised on large masses of people? Do they administer real evidence to bring these high communist power-holders to stand trial in the legal system concerning their abuse, theft, and misuse of the treasury?

Concerning all these problems, Mr. Marenglen Rrapi explains what follows: During this time the investigation group has carried out many inquiries in three main directions to correctly explore this question. We have asked many witnesses in various districts of the country, mainly former convicted people and political prisoners. Through them, we have ensured proof that will testify to the fact of that criminal policy of genocide exercised against a large mass of completely innocent people. This proof confirms the anticonstitutional and illegal acts committed by these former high party and state leaders. By decision, not relying on legal acts, they have arbitrarily ordered punitive measures for a strata of the population that is naturally a constituent part of the nation. Thus, we can mention detentions and evictions as administrative measures against the families of those convicted for agitation and propaganda and the negation of their rights to education. Their mistreatment and the social disgust cast upon them have been carried out in open opposition to the current Constitution.

The discrimination and the total blow against the freedom of religious belief clearly expresses that policy of genocide exercised against almost the whole Albanian people. We include here also the revanchist instructions of the party-state to forcefully destroy all religious institutions and to convict, evict, and make massive arrests of clerics and those who participated in religious rites. All these were done since 1967, at a time when the constitution guaranteed the freedom of religious belief and the activity of the institutions of this belief. The Constitution of 1976 banned religious belief by law, whereas in 1967 such a thing was guaranteed by the constitution.

Another aspect of the policy of genocide is that of surrounding the whole territorial state border of Albania with thorny electrical wires, at a time when the Constitution said that all citizens' rights are guaranteed by law. The relevant investigations are being made on this question, such as when this barricade was built, how much was spent on it, who ordered such an anticonstitutional act, etc. We are also finding cases of infringements regarding the people killed at border, when it is known that on May 1990 the judicial notion of crossing the border was changed from high treason to the homeland into an ordinary criminal act. Even after this change to the judicial notion on the illegal crossing of the state border, former Interior Ministry leaders did not issue any legal or sublegal act to regulate these acts, something that resulted in the loss of the lives of so many citizens through murders at the border.

As is known, the problem of the state treasury and especially of the cases of appropriation and misuse of gold and other valuable metals will be investigated along with this criminal case. The investigation in this direction includes three aspects. The first is that of the real documentation of the amount of gold that is unjustly and violently grabbed from a large part of the Albanian people during the period 1945-56. Concerning this question, we have obtained documents that reveal the state's approval to use violence and torture against the persons from whom the gold was sought. This was done at a time when the constitution categorically banned the use of violence in any form. The second aspect has to do with the investigation of those circumstances that will reveal the nature of the criminal acts related to the discrepancies of the real physical production of gold and silver at the Rubik Plant with the documentation that is filled, processed, counted, and in which big discrepancies are noticed.

Another important aspect in which the investigations to detect the abuse, theft, and misuse of treasury are concentrated is that of sending an amount of tonnes of gold and silver out of the country during 1988-90. Exactly at the time when the democratic will of the Albanian people was destroying the building of the party-state monarchy and at these moments of agony in their politics, former high-level leaders took anticonstitutional action to send a part of this treasury abroad.

Investigation has shown that these decisions were approved in the name of the Council of Ministers, thus fundamentally violating the constitution. Moreover, it is verified that these decisions were not approved in regular Council of Ministers' meetings, but in a close circle of three to four people. On the dates of these decisions, as results also from the inspection of the protocols of the Council of Ministers' meetings, no meeting was held at all. For these reasons and the seven decisions adopted in the name of the Council of Ministers at that time to send gold and silver out of the country, we have asked the present government to revoke and declare absolutely useless these administrative judicial acts, that is, these anticonstitutional decisions. As soon as we receive the answer from the government, the investigation force will carry out the necessary inspection in completing the charge against the defendants and the other persons that have collaborated in taking these unlawful actions. The investigation continues.

SDS Deputies Declare Nonsupport for Berov

AU0701134493 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 31 Dec 92 p 1

[Declaration of the Parliamentary Group of the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, issued in Sofia on 30 December]

[Text] Today, 30 December, the Bulgarian Parliament elected a government that in our opinion is a coalition government of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] and BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. This government was not elected by the votes of the SDS parliamentary group, and it cannot rely on the group's support either now or in the future, for the following reasons:

—The government has supplanted the one chosen by the Bulgarian people in the last elections.

—It serves as a vehicle for confusing the boundaries between the political forces and destroying the political structures in Bulgaria.

—It will substitute perestroyka for the real change of the system that the SDS began.

—It is a puppet administration that is subordinated not to the will of the democratic executive, but to the one-person presidential institution.

—It is the result not of a principled agreement and a balanced compromise between political forces, of the kind that the SDS proposed to the DPS, but of a dirty political deal between the DPS and BSP—something that the morality of our coalition can never permit.

We condemn the political cynicism of the former communists, who used the DPS mandate to usurp the executive power once again.

We describe the overthrow of the SDS government and the forming of an alliance with the communists as an act of betrayal by the DPS leaders toward their own electors. We do not believe that they want this alliance.

In our view, the actions of the SDS deputies who supported the coalition constitute political treason. On this day, which marks a political watershed, the SDS defended the principles, honor, and good name of the blue SDS idea and its own electors!

SDS parliamentary group, 30 December 1992.

Planned Cabinet Organizational Changes Detailed

AU0701101493 Sofia BTA in English 0907 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The new cabinet will reduce the number of advisers to the Council of Ministers by 24, Council of Ministers Chief Secretary Stoyan Denchev reported.

In an interview for 24 CHASA today, Mr. Denchev said the previous cabinet had destroyed the Council of Ministers structure by indiscriminately closing departments, which he now intended to restore. The economic and social policy and the local government and public order departments will be the first to be restored. No decision has been made on the status of the Arms Trade Commission. It will probably be headed by a deputy prime minister (in the Filip Dimitrov cabinet, it was chaired by the prime minister).

By the end of this month the cabinet will restore the Council for Social Partnership (of the cabinet, trade unions and employers). It will be chaired by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Evgeni Matinchev. Council of Ministers executives will be 85, Mr. Denchev said. Advisers will be reduced from 74 to 50. The Council of Ministers will also employ 60 administrative personnel and 100 maintenance workers, or 240 persons overall. Each deputy prime minister will have an office, an assistant and a secretary. A cabinet minister's salary now is 12,000 leva a month (about 500 dollars). The average monthly salary in this country is about 100 dollars.

The prime minister and ministers agreed to fill in property declarations, the Council of Ministers chief secretary reported.

Deputy Prime Ministers Assigned Duties

AU0701100793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] At its meeting today the Council of Ministers allocated the duties of the deputy prime ministers. A decision was adopted for the prime minister to supervise the Defense and Foreign Ministries.

Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev is to supervise the Ministries of Transport, Construction, Justice, and Internal Affairs and the Committees on Power Supply, Communications, and Geology.

Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev is to supervise the Ministries of Trade, Agriculture, Industry, and Finance, the Agency for Economic Forecasting and Development, Privatization Agency, the Bulgarian National Bank, and the Committee on Standardization and Metrology.

Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev is to supervise the Ministries of Labor and Social Welfare, of Health Care, of Education, Science, and Culture, and of Environment, and the Committees on Tourism, Forestry, and Sports.

New Defense Minister Presented to Army Leaders

AU0701101193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] On 6 January Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic of Bulgaria and supreme military commander, officially presented Valentin Aleksandrov, the new defense minister, to the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, and the Bulgarian Army. The ceremony was attended by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, adviser to the president on issues of national security, generals, and officers

Sejm Rejects Referendum on Penalizing Abortion

LD0701105393 Warsaw PAP in English 1008 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—The Sejm Thursday [7 January] morning rejected a draft resolution to hold referendum on penalizing abortion by a decisive majority of votes. 225 MP's [members of parliament] voted for rejecting the draft resolution, 177 were against and 16 abstained.

Criminal Responsibility Removed

LD0701120293 Warsaw PAP in English 1139 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—In a significant concession, the Polish Sejm voted Thursday [7 January] to remove from the abortion bill the controversial clause making the expectant mother criminally responsible in the event of an abortion. Also, the doctor performing an abortion would not have committed a criminal offence in cases where the mother's life is endangered by the pregnancy, or in pregnancies arising from rape or incest, or where prenatal tests indicate irreparable damage to the foetus.

The Sejm also approved the inclusion of an amendment placing on the administrative organs of government "a duty to guarantee the citizen free access to methods of planned parenthood." In further voting, deputies introduced a clause requiring schools to allow pregnant pupils maternal leave, and other essential help in completing their education. Schools and other institutes of learning will also be required to introduce classes on sexual behaviour and preparation for responsible parenting. Deputies also approved the insertion of an amendment permitting essential prenatal tests in instances where this would not increase the risk of miscarriage.

Suchocka Addresses Governors on Government Policy

LD0601180093 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—The most important characteristic of the present government's policy is "stability for growth," Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said in Warsaw on Wednesday [6 January]. Addressing a meeting of Poland's provincial governors, Prime Minister Suchocka said that "for a state which has gone through abrupt systemic changes, political, economic and social stability is not only essential for effective administration, but—above all—forms an essential condition for all development, for the civilised advance of Poland."

Ms. Suchocka stressed that economic stability was the basic condition underpinning change, and told her audience that the "Enterprise Pact" between government, the trade unions and the employers had been prepared on the basis of a social market economy. A second condition was the establishment of minimum social security support, guaranteed by the state, and Ms. Suchocka said that the government would shortly issue precise details on the level of this support, "in accordance with budget capabilities and the need to give the worst-off a feeling of minimum security."

The prime minister conceded that the two waves of strikes, in the summer and in December, had shaken the political stability of the state, but stressed that this had not resulted in "any concessions to force the government to change its programme." The "painful though unavoidable" reconstruction plan for the mining industry "is not the fruit of the last strikes, but of joint work by the government and unions." The government had made no concessions in the face of the recent strikes to ease the burden on the miners to the detriment of the rest of society, she added.

Ms. Suchocka identified two key areas in the reform of Polish public administration: Decentralisation of the state and a reduction in the sphere of activity for the state administration, and the strengthening of authority, which will require the strengthening of ministerial control over government agencies. In the Polish regions, she said, the provincial governors themselves should exercise this "ministerial" control over local administrations.

The prime minister stressed the importance of apoliticism and professionalism among provincial governors, and said it was essential for politicians and parliamentarians to be gradually removed from these posts, to avoid possible conflicts of interest. She added that she would not permit governors to campaign in national or local elections. Ms. Suchocka outlined two basic principles for provincial administration: To create an autonomous structure of governance, and competent stewardship of state property, and of changes in its ownership.

Skubiszewski: Vatican Talks 'Very Necessary'

AU0701112093 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 4—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on return from Rome on Monday [4 January] said that the talks he held on relations between Poland and the Vatican City, a concordat between the two countries and various international issues were "very necessary and very good." The minister added that Pope John Paul II was mainly interested in Polish matters and he was well acquainted with them. The foreign minister said he discussed problems of the legal regulation of relations between Poland and the Holy See with the pope and Secretary of State Angelo Sodano. When asked why the process of work on a concordat with the Vatican City, initiated still during the times of the Polish People's Republic, lasted for so long, Skubiszewski said that this kind of an agreement was connected with the country's political structure and required adequate legal frames for the social and political situation. According to the minister the document will be finalized still this year.

Skubiszewski also said that he held very interesting talks with the Italian foreign minister and parliamentarians. They discussed Italy's participation in the stabilization fund for Poland.

Ministry Spokesman on Foreign, Domestic Issues

AU0701090893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The spokesman of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs held his weekly news conference and announced that between 31 December 1992 and 3 January 1993, the Yugoslav authorities detained four Romanian vessels that were sailing the Yugoslav sector of the Danube in their ports of Belgrade and Bezdan. The vessels in question are the following: the Vaslui, towing five barges loaded with petroleum products; the Valea Alba, with two barges in the rear carrying logs and sugar; the Europa, transporting iron ore and bound for Linz; and the Isaccea, towing six empty barges. The spokesman mentioned that since 1 January 1993, through Romania's mission in Belgrade and the Embassy of the Yugoslav Federal Republic in Bucharest, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken steps, asking for the immediate and unconditional release of the Romanian ships. The Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Mircea Geoana also mentioned that, quote, trying to justify the actions taken, the Yugoslav side announced that the Federal Government was compelled to resort to such measures as a response to the difficult situation of the Yugoslav ships Kumanovo, Orasac, Velebit, and Kajmakalan, which were retained in Galati and Braila harbors, with the purpose of finding solutions to the problem through bilateral channels, unquote. Mr. Mircea Geoana said that the aforementioned Yugoslav ships were retained in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions 757 and 786. Therefore, the spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry said, the Romanian side considers that the measures taken by the federal authorities are illegal and abusive, given the specific nature of the established sanctions, which are aimed precisely at Yugoslavia and which cannot be connected with bilateral relations. Such actions, the spokesman also said, are similar to acts of force toward a neighboring state that is willing to maintain friendly relations with the Serbian people. Mr. Mircea Geoana also mentioned that if the federal authorities do not order the immediate release of the Romanian vessels, the Romanian side will be forced to turn to the UN Security Council to seek solutions to this problem.

On 20 December 1992, the UN Security Council adopted a declaration, recognizing the economic losses of a number of countries that have been particularly affected by the embargo and other sanctions established by the UN Security Council, as a result of the actions taken by Romania and other countries, in accordance with Article 50 of the UN Charter; the UN Security Council has committed itself to hold consultations on the matter through the UN General Secretariat, with the UN member states, International Financial Bodies, other UN institutions and taking those losses into consideration, to set up a permanent compensation fund.

Today, during his news conference, the Foreign Ministry spokesman mentioned that Romania welcomes this declaration issued by the UN Security Council and expresses hope that efforts will be made so that the United Nations recognize in principle the particularly difficult economic situation confronting our country as a result of the application of sanctions imposed through the UN Security Council resolutions and hopes that solutions will be found as soon as possible to attenuate losses.

On 30 December 1992, the Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu sent a letter to the Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, in which he suggests that talks at the level of experts in the two foreign ministries be organized in Bucharest at the end of January 1993. The Romanian side named Valeriu Tudor as negotiator. During today's news conference, the Foreign Ministry spokesman also mentioned that proposals were made that on the same occasion a new round of talks in connection with the text of the basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty also be organized. The spokesman said that in his letter, the head of the Romanian diplomacy mentioned the need to have the high level dialogue well prepared through contacts, consultations, and negotiations, including between the Romanian and Hungarian foreign ministers. In this respect, in his letter Mr. Teodor Melescanu renewed his invitation to the Hungarian foreign minister to pay an official visit to Romania early this year. The spokesman mentioned that Mr. Teodor Melescanu's letter is a response to the 4 December 1992 letter of the head of the Hungarian diplomacy and a continuation of the dialogue held with the latter on the occasion of the recent Stockholm CSCE meeting and stated that the Foreign Ministry hails the favorable manner in which the letter of the Romanian foreign minister was received by the Hungarian officials.

During today's news conference, the spokesman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry also announced that Mr. Traian Chebeleu was released from his position as secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry and deputy foreign minister of Romania in view of his appointment to the office of counselor of the president of Romania.

More on News Briefing

AU0701091893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1993—Mr. Mircea Geoana, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, held a weekly newsbriefing on 6 January 1993. [passage omitted]

In the context of the Yugoslav conflict, Mr. Geoana made a few points on the meeting in Galati on 29 December 1992, of representatives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Customs Department, and the Ministry of Transport with the representatives of the Ukraine's Ministry of External Affairs and Danube Navigation Company, on the issue of Ukrainian ships bound for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or carrying goods banned from transit on the strength of the UN Resolution 787 and kept in custody in Galati port. "On the occasion, the Ukrainian delegation agreed to

withdraw the ships now in custody at Galati, and gave assurances that it will forbid departure from the ports of Reni and Ismail of ships without license issued by the UN Security Council Sanction Committee," the foreign ministry spokesman informed.

New regulations on the regime of travelers from the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia will be enforced starting January 10, 1993, the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, Mircea Geoana, told the Wednesday, January 6, news conference. According to the said regulations "people on a visit to relatives or friends shall present an invitation authentified by a notary, certificates from passport offices and a two-way ticket. (...) Tourists traveling through tourist agencies shall prove that they have paid for tourist services, transportation included. The travelers having neither an invitation nor paid services shall own $40 for a seven-day journey and a two-way ticket. (...) those transiting the territory of Romania shall prove that they have the documents required by the destination country and a two-way ticket."

The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry mentioned that these measures do not include those possessing diplomatic and service passports and the citizens of the Republic of Moldova.

Referring to the creation of the Czech and the Slovak Republics on January 1, the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry mentioned that on that day the Romanian Embassy in Prague turned into the Romanian Embassy in the Czech Republic and the Romanian Consulate in Bratislava into the Romanian Embassy in the Slovak Republic. The two republics have separate embassies in Romania.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania has taken note with special satisfaction of the finalization and signing of the START-II Treaty," said Foreign Ministry Spokesman Mircea Geoana at the weekly newsbriefing.

"The Romanian Foreign Ministry appreciates the signing of the treaty all the more as this contributes to the consolidation of the positive course in the international life," he said.

In connection with the visit to Bucharest of France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, the spokesman specified that the French guest would be received by the president of Romania, the prime minister and will have talks with his Romanian counterpart. The French and Romanian foreign ministers will chair the proceedings of the 16th session of the Romanian-French Inter-Government Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

FSN Executive Bureau Offers Alternative Government

AU0601201393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1993—In a press release issued Wednesday, 6 January, the National Salvation Front (FSN) informs that "the 6 January sitting of the FSN Executive Bureau decided to bring to public knowledge this party's offer for an alternative government, the programme of which was drawn up and presented on the basis of the motion 'Future Today' in the electoral campaign.

"As for the shadow cabinet, its formation pursues neither to bypass the option of the Romanian electorate as expressed in the September 1992 elections nor to undermine the authority of the present cabinet, the legitimacy of which is by no means questioned, nor does it exclude the possibility of forming future coalition governments. What the FSN wishes is to offer the practical prerequisites for the achievement of a constructive opposition translatable not only into vague political discourse, but also into alternative solutions," the release writes end item.

Education Ministry State Secretaries Appointed

AU0701093293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Today, 6 January, a news conference was held at the headquarters of the Ministry of Education and Science. University Professor Dr. Liviu Maior, minister of education and science, presented the new leadership of the ministry to the representatives of the press. The new secretaries of state are as follows: Mr. Ion Hirjoaba, secretary of state, head of the Department of Higher Education; Mr. Romulus Gheorghe Pop, secretary of state, head of preuniversity education; and Sorin Ionescu, secretary of state, head of the newly established Department for Reform, Coordination, Management, and Human Resources. After introducing the three new secretaries of state, who have been appointed through a government decision, Mr. Liviu Maior, minister of education, announced a series of changes in the structure and organization of the ministry. He mentioned that specific programs for each individual department have been established and the newly established Department for Reform, Coordination, Management, and Human Resources will also support Romanians who live beyond the country's borders.

Civic Alliance On Need for Unity Within CDR

AU0601205093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1740 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1993—The leadership of the Civic Alliance stressed, at the press conference held Wednesday, 6 January 1993 in Bucharest, the need for unity within the Democratic Convention of Romania

(CDR), the largest opposition coalition, both at parliamentary and extra-parliamentary level.

The Civic Alliance expressed its dissatisfaction with the activity so far of the Conver.tion's parliamentary groups, which, in the opinion of the Alliance, should come out of their defensive attitude and assume an offensive approach so as to be able to impose their own legislative initiatives.

Official Claims Terrorist Activity 'Under Control'

AU0701095293 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Dec 92 p 1

[Article by Andrei Badin: "Terrorists All Over the Place"]

[Text] *The Ministry of Interior has threatened His Majesty King Mihai with Turkish, Ukrainian, and other national terrorists, while the SRI [The Romanian Intelligence Service] asserts that those groupings are under control.*

General [Gheorghe] Carp, Secretary of State at the Ministry of Interior has warned Mr. Mihai Ricci, the representative of His Majesty King Mihai, with respect to his Christmas visit to Romania that "groups of Turkish, Ukrainian, and other national terrorists are active in Romania" and that "in case of danger, the Romanian state declines all responsibility," should the aforementioned groups make an attempt at the life of the king or at that of the royal family. On Monday [28 December] we tried to contact the Romanian Intelligence Service in order to find out details about the activity of the terrorist groupings, as they could not only undertake actions against the king, but also against Romanian citizens. Having learned that Mr. Nicolae Ulieru, the spokesman of the SRI, was on leave, we contacted him by telephone, at home. After asserting that he had no knowledge of what General Carp had told the King's representative that Mr. Ulieru said: *THE TERRORIST GROUPINGS EXISTING AND ACTING IN ROMANIA ARE "UNDER CONTROL."* [as published] Mr. Ulieru has promised us further details concerning the terrorists' activity in Romania. We will keep you informed.

Official Says 'Good Era' for Diaspora Has Begun

AU0601205193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/1/1993—The Romanian diaspora has had a confusing image about their country of origin owing to both the shortage of information abroad and the lack of interest of Romanian authorities in the emigration, Adrian Dohotaru, minister-secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry told the daily LIBERTATEA. "In an elevated dialogue with several men of letters I realized how much tension has been accumulated in time between the Romanians living here and those living abroad. Our diaspora is not unitary, it has had many contradictory elements, inner tensions," added the secretary of state, who mentioned that the emigration had proved to be more and more interested in their country of origin of late. "For instance, the Romanian diaspora living in California has drawn up a memorandum signed by representative personalities in view of a new discussion of the granting of the most-favored-nation status to Romania by the United States. The Romanian diaspora in many other countries has joined it and this seems to be the first time when a joint platform has been found for an action to the benefit of Romania. It is obvious that a good era has begun for the seeking of roots and of a similar language, of a dialogue," said Adrian Dohotaru.

Vance Says POW Issue To Be Given Priority

LD0701115393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 7 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 6 (TANJUG)—Cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance said in Belgrade on Wednesday [6 January] the question of the POW's [prisoners of war] detained in the Moslem, Serb and Croat prisons would be given priority at the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In an interview to the British Broadcasting Corporation BBC, Vance said it was unfortunate that the three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not release the POW's, as it was agreed in October 1992.

Vance singled out a silo near Sarajevo where, he said, the Moslems were holding hundreds of Serb POW's under the worst conditions. In some POW camps, he added, the prisoners were dying of cold.

Vance arrived in Belgrade on Tuesday evening to meet with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

He told the BBC he would ask Milosevic to use his influence to pursuade the Bosnian Serbs to accept the draft agreement on a cease-fire and on Bosnia-Hercegovina's future organization, presented at the Geneva talks between the Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

A BBC reporter from Belgrade on Wednesday quoted the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as saying the Bosnian Moslems and Croats were now holding more POWs in their camps than the Serb side.

According to the ICRC, at least 1,400 Serb POWs were detained by the Bosnian Moslems and Croats.

So far, the Bosnian Serbs have in most cases been accused of setting up camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the former Yugoslav republic which has for nine months been torn by a civil and religious war between the Moslems and Croats on the one side and the local Serbs on the other.

Late last year, the Bosnian Serbs released 2,420 Moslems and Croats from the POW camp in Manjaca, near the northwestern Bosnian Serb town Banja Luka and closed the camp.

Press Says Croats Gain Most From New Map

LD0601144093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1404 GMT 6 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 6 (TANJUG)—A map dividing the embattled former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten autonomous provinces suits the Bosnian Croats the most and the Bosnian Serbs the least, says the Belgrade press on Wednesday [6 January].

The map was presented to the leaders of the three Bosnian warring sides—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—by cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen in Geneva on Saturday.

"The way in which the provincial boundaries are outlined shows that some vital interests of the Serb diaspora have been neglected," the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes. The paper quotes Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic as saying at the closing plenary session in Geneva on Monday that new arrangements should avoid the kind of mistakes made by the former state which led to war. It doubts that the proposed map takes it into account.

Already at first glance, says POLITIKA, the Bosnian Croats can be satisfied with the proposed boundaries. That was proved by the fact that the document including the map was signed by Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The Croat provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina border on Croatia which makes possible their future joining of it.

This is not the case with the proposed Serb provinces, the paper says, adding that the "proposed consitutional arrangements prevent their organic linkage with Serbia, and to an extent tie the hands of (Bosnian Serb) strategists in case of new war storms."

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI says that the map of Bosnia-Hercegovina "has been drawn according to Croat wishes, especially as each Croat province borders on Croatia, while cutting the Serb provinces links with Serbia."

"Apparently, everything was conceived to separate the Bosnian Serbs from Serbia and to split them by means of Moslem and Croat territories," VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes.

The Belgrade daily BORBA calls questionable the whole Sava River valley—the part of northern Bosnia bordering on Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—which the Vance-Owen map gives to the Croats.

"A military victory (in the Sava River valley) seen as the most glorious by the Bosnian Serbs—the opening of a corridor which links the Serb Krajinas and Serbia—has been denied by a political move," writes BORBA.

The paper says that the proposed Croat province in northern Bosnia which "cuts the communication between the Bosnian Serb provinces and the Republic of Serbia, will be the object of hard bargaining."

Karadzic Comments on Maps

AU0601204693

[Editorial Report] Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1940 GMT on 5 January carries a 16-minute interview with Radovan Karadzic, president

of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Sonja Djuric in Geneva "after the end of the first round of talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina." Karadzic explains his views on the proposal prepared by the conference's cochairmen, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Asked by Djuric to comment more on the map of 10 provinces proposed in Geneva and expound on his statement that there is consent regarding exactly what provinces are Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian—that is, "to identify them"—Karadzic takes a pen in his hand and points to a black and white map of the 10 provinces he has in his hand and says that "one of the things that can be identified as undisputed—that is, that nobody disputed to anyone else—is the Banja Luka region. Almost the entire Banja Luka region is indisputably Serbian." He adds that "Teslic used to be included in the region where Maglaj and Zepce are, but was then put back with Krajina at our intervention." Further on, he says that "nobody has disputed that Romanija belongs to the Serbs, that Semberija belongs to the Serbs, and that Hercegovina belongs to the Serbs. Nobody has disputed that the Livno unit—that is, the 10th unit—belongs to the Croats, except for Kupres and Donji Vakuf and Jajce, which have been disputed by us. Therefore, that must be solved."

While pointing to the eighth province on the map, Karadzic says "nobody has disputed that this belongs to the Croats. We only disputed the Neretva Valley, and that should be settled among us." Outlining the fifth province with the pen and pointing to its parts, he says that "here on the Drina River, the division was disputed both by us and the Muslims. They deny that we have Rudo, Cajnice, and a part of Foca, and we deny that they have Foca, Rogatica, Visegrad, and Gorazde—that is, some enclave of theirs which would include Srebrenica and Gorazde." Further on, pointing to another province marked with number five, Karadzic says that "for example, it is undisputable that this number five should be divided—but not here at Srebrenica, rather near Kalesija—and that this is indisputably a Muslim part. They can get a much smaller part of Doboj than has been drawn here."

Outlining the northern border of the third province, Karadzic says that "this corridor is disputed. We are of the opinion that we must get the corridor. We agreed with the Croats in principle that we are going to have a territorial corridor—not a passage as was proposed, but a territory that would belong to us." He adds that "the Muslim side demanded an approach to Brcko because they have some villages there. However, we also have villages there that bar their approach to the Sava River." Finally, "regarding the Birac region," Karadzic says that they "dispute everything drawn here around Sehovici that belongs to us. We have Vlasenica, Milici as a new commune, Bratunac, and Zvornik, so this will look differently. Tuzla region will probably end at Kalesija."

When asked by Djuric about the way to reconcile this division into provinces with the confederal setup, Karadzic replies that "all our provinces will have a unified function. We have the right to unify their function and they will represent the Serbian republic" and "this is an interim step, an indirect way toward realizing our rights and aims."

Karadzic then takes the map again and pointing to it adds that he has "forgotten that there is another disputed point. You see, they envisaged for the part of Bosanski Novi, a part of Prijedor, a part of Sanski Most, as well as Bosanska Krupa to belong to Cazin Krajina. The Muslims demanded the entire Prijedor, even a part of Kljuc, and the entire Sanski Most to belong to Krajina, even a part of Petrovac. Our side has disputed this as well as the cochairmen's proposal. For us, the border is on the Una River, and nothing else is possible." "Here as well," he goes on to say, "one has the commune of Skelani and Bratunac, and so on, and that must certainly belong to the Serbian region," and adds that "the commune of Zvornik is a Serbian commune." Karadzic concludes that most of the job on the maps has been finished and that only a small part of the job is still disputed, and adds that "the Muslim canton from Tesanj to Vares and Olovo is undisputed, of course, without the Serbian territories in these communes. On the whole, nobody is disputing Zenica, Zepce, and so on, except for some Serbian territories that we have disputed there, but we can reach an agreement about that."

When asked by Djuric about the rumors that pressure has been exerted on him personally and that he had to have individual meetings with Vance, Owen, and Atisaari, Karadzic says that they do not allow any pressure and that they themselves asked for bilateral talks, when "we saw that one is trying to make some documents into final documents and not working papers. We accept that all these are working papers that should be further worked upon, but nothing is final. For example, these constitutional principles, according to which Bosnia would be a unitarian or an united state without constituent elements, are absolutely unacceptable for me—for us—and this is why we stayed longer. It would be too ambitious, however, to imagine that the conference could solve our entire dispute in just three days. Therefore, I think that the conference was successful, but it would be wrong if it had the ambition of solving everything in three days."

In response to a question concerning foreign military intervention, Karadzic says that he personally thinks that "there will be no intervention and that, if there is any, it would be shooting at flying aircraft, and in that case it is Croatian aircraft that would be downed, as our aircraft are not flying. If there will be any shooting at targets on the ground, that would be a crime and responsibility would be borne by the politicians who supported and possibly ordered such an action. Therefore, I think that the people need not worry."

Further on, when asked about who is an easier partner for talks, the Bosnian Croats or Bosnian Muslims, Karadzic says that he thinks talks will be much easier

with the Croats "because Croats know exactly what they want, although they meanwhile accept things that are even unacceptable for them and then withdraw them." He adds that "somebody was very generous regarding the Croats and had given them even what they did not ask for. For instance, they openly told us: We had not asked for Donji Vakuf, we know that it is yours. Therefore, we are going to achieve a compromise with the Croats in Posavina, around Kupres, Donji Vakuf, and Jajce. Neretva Valley remains a great problem and I do not know whether we will solve that in a peaceful way. I suggest that we should solve it in a peaceful way."

He continues: "Muslim wishes are imprecise [difuzan]. The Muslim aim is unclear and undefined. Until they say that they also want their state unit in Bosnia-Hercegovina, they will have no success and one will not be able to come to agreement with them."

Djuric tells Karadzic that the Geneva circles are saying that the Bosnian Serbs are the ones having a hard stand. Karadzic replies that "there is a level under which we will not go, so if that is a hard stand, then we are hard. We would have been hard if we said that any Bosnia is out of question—we are going back to Yugoslavia or creating a Greater Serbia. After all, why should we not say one day: We want to be independent from Muslims and Croats; We want an independent state. Bosnia has fallen apart just as Yugoslavia has fallen apart."

Koljevic Favors Referendum on Geneva Proposals

LD0601155593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—Talks in Geneva reached a new phase, when the delegation and leadership of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] can accept neither all principles nor the map, Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic told Serb Republic Radio.

Further consultations are needed in the republican assembly and my personal view is that no one from the current leadership has the right to sign the proposed agreement. This does not mean that the agreement could not be the subject of further negotiations, Koljevic said. We could discuss the principles of a constitutional system, above all a possibility of political-administrative link-up between various provinces, if they are formed.

Talking about the Geneva proposals and their verification, Nikola Koljevic said, in his view the assembly of the Serb Republic cannot make such an important decision because what is at stake is a historical decision for the Serb people.

This would primarily affect the status of the already formed Serb Republic, and I believe it would be democratic if everyone saw what the true desire of the Serb people is, Koljevic stressed.

I advocate a referendum on the territory of the Serb Republic, he said. It is up to the Croats and the Muslims whether they want to do the same, but we are a constituent nation even under the proposed constitutional solution, and as such we have the right to a referendum, Koljevic said.

Croats Thwart Serb Attempts To Open Corridor

LD0601132493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by VECERNJI LIST correspondent Ekrem Avdic from Tuzla]

[Excerpt] Despite the Geneva negotiations and the agreements reached there, the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina has not lost any of its intensity. The heaviest battles are being waged in the area of responsibility of the 2d Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Particularly fierce battles are being fought in the area of the corridor [linking Serb territories in eastern and western Bosnia].

The Serb-Montenegro army of occupation has suffered yet another defeat in Posavina. Overnight, the heroes of the 108th Croatian Defense Force brigades and units of the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army routed the chetniks from the temporarily occupied Donji Rahic thus thwarting yet another chetnik attempt to open up a new reserve corridor from Brcko toward Pelagicevo. In the battles for Donji Rahic the chetniks had enormous losses.

Gradacac continues heroically to resist all assaults by the chetniks whose gun barrels and tank caterpillar tracks froze in cold weather. This forced them after some time to attempt an infantry assault along the Njivice-Sekulici-Simici line in which four chetniks were liquidated. None of these four had any papers or documents on them to establish their identity. [passage omitted]

Curfew To Be Lifted; Fighting Continues

LD0601210593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Zeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Citizens have been informed that an order by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina to lift the curfew in the territory of the whole country comes into effect at midnight tonight. The order lifts the ban on the movement of citizens between 2100 and 0600, introduced six months ago. [passage omitted]

Peace in Sarajevo, however, does not mean peace in the town's surroundings. Sporadic but fierce fighting between the units of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina army on one side and chetniks on the other is in progress in the Visoko and Breza areas, especially in the direction of Ilijas and Vogosca. It is interesting that the command of the Sarajevo Corps of the Bosnian Army has not revealed any details about the

fighting which military analysts view as part of comprehensive operational preparations for possibly even more fierce fighting to lift at last the blockade of Sarajevo.

Muslim Forces Reportedly Launching Assaults

AU0601163793

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 6 January within its regular newscast carries several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In his report from Sarajevo, Risto Djogo says that "since 0700, the Muslim green berets have been launching combined infantry and artillery assaults from Kralupe and Godrusa, trying to break through the Serbian defense positions along the Zenik and Vela lines. The attacks have continued through the afternoon. The Muslim side is using 82- and 120-mm mortars, [word indistinct], snipers, and other infantry weapons." Further on, Djogo says that "this morning, Muslim forces also attempted an infantry breakthrough against Nedjarici. They launched an attack from Stup Hill at about 0700, but withdrew after one and a half hours of Serbian defense." Djogo adds that "today as well, mortar bombs that have been launched by Muslims from Kobilja Glava and are falling on the center of Vogosca, and a large concentration of green berets has been noticed in Zuc."

Jelena Dabarcic reports from Hercegovina that "during the early morning hours, provocations with heavy infantry weapons and antiaircraft machine guns were carried out by the Croatian Army against the defenders of Serbian Hercegovina on the Trebinje battlefield and by the united Croatian and Muslim forces on the Stolac-Capljina line. Gunfire also was opened against villages in Popovo Polje, Trebinje woods, and the heights around Stolac. The united Croatian and Muslim forces attacked the positions of the Nevesinje Brigade on the Mostar section of the battlefield."

Vlado Trisic reports from Majevica that "strong infantry fire was opened from the direction of the Muslim stronghold of Teocak against the Serbian positions in Peljave, to the west of Ugljevik. About 15 minutes later, fire was opened from (Nahvioci) against the Serbian positions in Piperi, northwest of Lopare. At about the same time, immediately after 0500, infantry operations were opened from Celic."

A studio announcer quotes Milan Pantovic's report regarding "Muslim forces attacking Grabez, (Lohovska Brda), [name indistinct], and (Grmsko-Srbljanska) Height near Bihac today."

The studio announcer also quotes Boro Milanovic's report on "Muslim forces attacking the Bratunac-Kravica corridor from Boljevica."

Bosko Lomovic reports from Brcko on "a real battle being waged approximately 10 km to the west of the town, near the village of Ulica shortly before 1200 when, following some provocations by the enemy, the Posavina, Krajina, and Semberija fighters launched a counterattack against the hamlets of Sekulici and Ivakovici." Further on, Lomovic says that "the battle is still under way."

Diplomatic Ties Established With Kuwait

LD0601215993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina has established full diplomatic relations with Kuwait, it was announced in Sarajevo this evening. An agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations was reached at the conference on former Yugoslavia in Geneva. It is expected that diplomatic representatives of the two countries will be appointed soon.

Bosnian Delegation Makes Visit to FRG

WA0701143092

For reportage on the visit to Germany by Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic; Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Armed Forces Supreme Command; and First Mechanized Brigade Commander Radomir Zoranovic, including a news conference by the three officials, see the Germany section of the 7 January West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Presidential Council Favors Talks Proposals

LD0601184593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The Croatian Presidential Council has met in its seventh session with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic, in the chair. The president informed the council about the course so far of the Geneva conference, which he assessed as positive; he judged the conference proposals as acceptable to Croatia and the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatian representatives signed all the documents on the table designed to lead to the cessation of the war and of the suffering and under which foundations for Bosnia-Hercegovina's territorial organization will, at the initiative and control of the international community, be laid in accordance with an agreement between the three constituent nations, President Tudjman said. He stressed that both Serbs and Muslims are expected to accept the proposals on offer. This, in his view, will be of special importance for resolving the problem of UN-protected areas in Croatia.

It was said during the debate that the proposal tabled by the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia [Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen] is satisfactory, as it provides for a way out of the war and for the establishment of a lasting peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatia is keen to see the Geneva proposal accepted by all three sides as that would speed up the efforts to resolve the problems of the UN-protected areas and their integration into the legal, constitutional, and economic system of the Republic of Croatia.

The council also discussed other topical issues concerning Croatia's foreign and internal policy.

Tudjman, Vance, Owen Hold Talks

LD0601215593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman received the cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and David Owen, in the Presidential Palace this evening. Tihomir Vinkovic reports:

[Vinkovic] President Tudjman said the following about this evening's talks:

[Begin recording] Mr. Vance and Lord Owen informed us that they had discussed with Mr. Cosic and Milosevic that the peace forces should start implementing the Vance plan, and for us in Croatia—as you know from our letter—it is of primary importance to start building a pontoon and a real Maslenica bridge, to reestablish road and railway links as well as the power transmission network [sentence as heard]. So, as you can see, we have the support of the cochairmen, and of their recommendation to the UN Protection Force to start doing this. Vance and Owen received assurances in Belgrade that the people there will not cause problems, but on the contrary, will advise their supporters to help realize the plan. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Asked by a journalist what Vance and Owen discussed with Serbian leaders Cosic [FRY president] and Milosevic [Serbian president], David Owen says:

[Begin recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The main issue for the Bosnian Serbs which we raised in Belgrade was this question of the constitutional setup of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We reiterated that we would not accept the creation of a state within a state, but that the new provinces will have large autonomy. Each autonomy will have the freedom to organize its police force, education system, and health care. It seems that it is not understood that all sides should agree on the demilitarization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that there will be no central army. Therefore, the competence of the central government will be reduced to a minimum in terms of state functions. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Asked by a journalist what the Serbian leaders in Belgrade said to this, Owen says:

[Begin recording] They say they recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, within its existing boundaries. [end recording]

Danish Minister Talks with Tudjman, Skrabalo

LD0601230293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish foreign minister and chairman of the EC Foreign Ministers Council, and his associates had talks today with Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman and a delegation of the Croatian Foreign Ministry headed by Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo. The two ministers made brief public statements regarding their talks. Branko Merlin reports:

[Merlin] Following the good practice of foreign ministers of countries which have held the EC six-month presidency term, the Danish foreign minister arrived in Croatia in the course of his tour of countries of former Yugoslavia. Bringing with him the EC mandate, the top-ranking guest told his hosts that the EC hopes that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mission in Croatia will continue after the expiration of its mandate in February. He also expressed the EC pleasure over Croatia's active support for the peace efforts of the two cochairmen of the Geneva conference, and appreciation of Croatia's care for refugees and displaced persons, particularly those from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Minister Ellemann-Jensen also informed his hosts about a message which he is taking to Belgrade, which puts Serbia in a position whereby it should decide on its future:

[Begin recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] If they wish a future in which they

would be a part of Europe, they have to change their policy of aggression and accept conclusions of the Geneva Conference. Otherwise they will be completely isolated and will become the pariah of Europe in which there will be no future for them. [end recording]

As regards concrete steps by the West in response to a possible Serbian failure to accept [the Geneva documents], Minister Ellemann-Jensen declined to comment.

The most serious of Croatia's problems is that of reintegration of its currently occupied territory, Minister Skrabalo said. It is understandable therefore that we want UNPROFOR to fulfill its duties in Vance's plan.

[Begin Skrabalo recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We do not want a sudden end to the peace action, but we want UNPROFOR to fulfill its obligations, which means that in a certain sense its mandate ought to be changed. [end recording]

Government Calls for Local Elections on 7 Feb

LD0601191193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Excerpt] At today's session chaired by Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic, the Croatian Government decided to call elections for representative bodies in units with local administration and self-administration, that is, for municipal assemblies, town assemblies, county assemblies, the Zagreb city assembly and district assemblies with special self-administrative status. This was revealed by the government public relations department.

A statement from the government session then adds: The elections will be held on Sunday, 7 February. The government has also decided that political parties which get at least 3 percent of votes at the elections for the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly, will have the right to reimbursement to the tune of 200,000 dinars. Parties will be able to exercise their right to reimbursement when the Republican Electoral Commission announces results.

The government has endorsed an agreement signed by its representative and the Croatian Economic Chamber, the Federation of Croatian Independent Unions, the Croatian Trade Union Federation and the Confederation of Croatian Independent Trade Unions according to which the average wage for December 1992 is 35,400 dinars and the minimum wage for December 1992 is 24,800 dinars. [passage omitted]

'Croatian Airlines' Scores Successes

AU0701103293 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 93 Europe Edition p 7

[Article by Zeljko Zutelija: "Croatia by Air"]

[Excerpts] Until now Croatia has been flying high only with "Croatian Airlines." Let us remember: The launching of the first airline company in Croatian history was received with a lot of doubt, much jeering, and with malicious prophecies that it was going to be "Air Obrovac" [a company that proved to be a great fiasco], and that it would ground another preposterous, megalomaniac Croatian investment with its hard landing. The traditional Croatian disbelief lived up to the greatest pessimists' expectations, but a group of persistent, and courageous businessmen, with all the difficulties created behind closed doors, consistently toiled up the Croatian stairways to the skies. [passage omitted]

A Little Big Fleet

With only three large, and two smaller passenger aircraft, which were bought from "Lufthansa" on a five-year installment plan, around 213,000 passengers were flown by "Croatian Airlines" in the seven months of its existence, and registered a very high average utilization of aircraft regarding the average number of passengers and the number of flight hours. The three Boeing 737-200s with 116 seats, and two Cessnas with six and seven seats are almost incessantly cruising, which is a business aim of all airline companies, but a business reality of only the most efficient. [passage omitted]

"A Way to the Skies"

For the time being, "Croatian Airlines" connects Zagreb with Split, Dubrovnik, and Pula, and after the liberation of the whole of the Croatian territory, and the reconstruction of out-of-service airports, Zadar and Osijek will also be added in the schedule. A new airport has been built on the island of Brac. Croatia has five international airports, which together accounted for 70 percent of international traffic performed by Yugoslav Airlines, and all the profitable assets will in future be performed and further developed by "Croatian Airlines." Apart from the 10 existing regular international flights, "Croatian Airlines" plans to open some new routes, intercontinental ones included, and to purchase four more aircraft, two Boeings 737-200's, and two smaller planes with 50 seats each. Considerable attention will be paid to charter flights, which make up a valuable element of initial experience. It seems that the Croatian way to the skies, at first very thorny, is turning out to be more and more star-studded.

Kucan on Foreign Policy, Relations With Croatia

AU0701111993 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 92 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Milan Kucan, president of Slovenia, by Vlado Zagorac: "Slovenia and Croatia More Than Just Neighbors"—place and date not given]

[Text] In the presidential elections in Slovenia two weeks ago, Milan Kucan was elected to his second term as president of Slovenia. The 51-year-old law school graduate has been at the top of Slovene politics for a quarter of a century. He will lead Slovenia for the next five years. He has a wealth of experience in understanding and analyzing domestic Slovene and international affairs.

[Zagorac] The official results of the parliamentary and presidential elections are known. From a distance, there is the impression that nothing much has changed in the Slovene political structure, but a closer look reveals a different picture. How do you see the Slovene political scene after the elections?

[Kucan] The considerable response of the voters, rare in Europe, has shown the great interest and responsibility of Slovene citizens in determining the essence of political life in their state. This is best proven by the results of the parliamentary elections, according to which practically all those recognized as extremists have been excluded.

The Slovene political scene has undergone a change. Present are three large parties. They will play an important role in the future of Slovene politics, which will become more stable with a strong center and a left and right wing simultaneously with the process of social differentiation and the already initiated process of reprivatization and denationalization.

The Slovenes Have Discarded Extremism

[Zagorac] One of the political changes is the entering of a rightist party like Jelincic's Slovene National Party into the parliament, although you believe that the Slovene voters have excluded extremists?

[Kucan] That is an issue for an analytical discussion. I was talking more about those who were politically active for two and a half years and who have been recognized as extremists. There are several problems connected with Jelincic's party. First of all, we have the actual circumstances, which are a fertile soil for nationalism and extremism: economic and social circumstances and the uncertainty of young people and retired persons, who make up the majority of the party's voters, regarding their futures, social security, and the possibilities of education and employment. Then there are the several tens of thousands of unemployed. In such a situation many people naively believe that by having an ethnically clean Slovenia it is possible to create so many jobs that everyone will be employed. That is very shortsighted. The problem lies elsewhere and it is possible to solve it only through economic development and positive trends.

Secondly, this party, which prior to the elections Jelincic said had 3,000 members, obviously got a lot of votes from non-members, so that it is only now emerging as a party. From this viewpoint I think it positive that it is in parliament because it means it accepts the rules of parliamentary conduct and responsibility. If it had remained outside parliament, it could be more radical, it could be oblivious and irresponsible to the rules of political life. The phenomenon exists. It is a warning that in Slovenia conditions for nationalism exist, but we must leave things to the future in order to see what this is really about.

[Zagorac] Is it already clear in which direction Slovene policy will evolve as regards its dependency or independency? Let us recall the discussions and the differences of opinion among the Slovene political public regarding defense strategy and Slovenia's position in security and defense systems.

[Kucan] There is no state that can be completely independent in the modern world. Such a state would sentence itself to isolation and gradual disappearance. We have not formed our Slovene state for the first time in history only to isolate ourselves from the outside world by a high wall. In this context, defense policy can be understood only in the context of European defense strategy and its ideas for a common defense system. Until then, Slovenia must in principle be capable of defending its own sovereignty experience of last year's war. If we had not been capable of defending ourselves and showing determination, the world would not have interceded on our behalf. Therefore, the concept of neutrality remains the most acceptable variant and its effectiveness and power are expanded through good-neighborly relations. This is a state's most reliable defense of sovereignty.

Good-Neighborly Relations Are a Priority

[Zagorac] How does Slovenia perceive its cooperation with its neighbors and other countries?

[Kucan] The size of the Slovene state does not restrict its foreign policy activity. Here size is not measured by the size of the population or square mileage, but by the convincing analyses, ideas, and proposals that it contributes to international life. I believe Slovenia should not give up this ambition. The sphere of its activity encompasses the entire world and it must make itself competent for the job. Of course, there are priorities. It is absolutely certain that good-neighborly relations are a priority not only for reasons of defense but because this is where the greatest part of economic, cultural, and cooperation in general takes place. These are the principles of good-neighborly relations, reciprocity, equality, interests, and good intentions. In principle, this is the same for all our neighbors, but with Croatia, with which we share the longest border and also because both states are new, there are a number of questions to be settled. Furthermore, these interests are like concentric circles: here we have the Central European Initiative, EFTA

[European Free Trade Association] and the EC, not to mention the CSCE. I would say that everything else is based on bilateral relations, and here I especially have in mind those organizations whose ambition it is to be universal. These are the United Nations and economic institutions like the World Bank or the IMF which complete a state's international position.

[Zagorac] During this period of independence, relations between Slovenia and Croatia have gone through a number of highs and lows that were too frequent considering how long the states have been independent. How do you estimate these relations and what are the prospects for them?

[Kucan] First of all, I think it is important to look back a little and understand that Slovenia and Croatia, on their road to independence and in their struggle for international recognition, paved a great deal of the way together because it was in their mutual interest. The coinciding of the majority of interests made possible and even demanded the smart policy of a joint way. This of course did not mean that circumstances in Slovenia were like those in Croatia. Slovenia is an ethnically homogeneous state and it could execute this process a lot more easily. Croatia has an indigenous Serbian population of significant size which Serbian policy activated at the moment it decided to create a Greater Serbia by force. This significantly impaired Croatia's way. In addition to the problems Slovenia had, Croatia had to deal with this demanding issue as well. That is the essential difference. Slovenia had prepared everything in advance. It is hard for me to say whether Croatia did the same, but it never warned us that it had to take things more slowly or more quickly than us, so it is only natural that we assumed things were ready and that we were going it together.

The Slovene War

It is a different question why the war in Slovenia was what it was, but I am not at all ready to accept the qualification that Belgrade soon gave up on us. It was simply that from a moral viewpoint nobody could oppose the Slovene attitude. When it became evident that the unity of all the citizens, not only Slovenes, was so strong that it was impossible to doubt it, we decided it was unnecessary to go on implementing force. We must admit that at that moment the Army was not yet ready for war. Current analysis confirms this. It went on to prepare itself for the war against Croatia, where it had more success. Finally, it prepared itself for the war against Bosnia-Hercegovina where it exhibited all of its perversity.

I am saying this because—after Croatia got involved in a different kind of war, where its sovereign status is somewhat unclear on almost one-third of its territory, which is under the control of the UN Protection Forces, and after it got involved in the war in Bosnia, where it is trying to save the Croats from extermination—the problems, interests, and priorities of cooperation with Slovenia have become significantly different from those of Slovenia, which, it is hoped, has solved the problem of war and peace and is now concentrating on economic development and social security. Therefore, this discrepancy and misunderstanding have resulted in a series of misunderstandings that are not a problem in themselves. I see the problem in the fact that we have abandoned permanent political dialogue. Dialogue would establish conditions for solving problems as they arise because when they pile up it only adds a new dimension of conflict. That is why for me, it is very important that we were able to hold the meeting between government delegations that took place in Zagreb and the meeting between President Tudjman and myself at Brdo. One of the vital conclusions was that a biannual meeting of leaderships be held at which relations will be examined, problems identified, and the possibilities for solving them defined.

[Zagorac] People are still not satisfied with the level of relations between our two states, which has been confirmed by the establishment of the Slovene-Croat Friendship Society in Ljubljana, the founders of which warn about unresolved state issues. Stressing issues like the state border, fishing, property, they are actually a slap in the face to official state policy.

[Kucan] I am also dissatisfied with present relations. I do not believe there is a reason for them to sink to this level. It takes two to create both good and bad relations and I find it pointless to try and determine who is more to blame. Slovenia and Croatia were obviously not aware of these problems and they may also have been unprepared for them. The Slovene-Croat Friendship Society can be of use only within the framework of its intentions and these are the development of cooperation, getting to know and understand the culture and conditions of life of the respective peoples. The things you mention fall within the realm of state institutions and avoiding and pointing out these problems are a slap in the face of such policy. The Friendship Society can warn about these problems and can create a climate for them to be solved, but it cannot assume responsibility for solving them. If it does this, then it becomes an instrument of pressure that will not be able to answer for the consequences.

Rebirth of Yugoslavia Impossible

[Zagorac] Relations with neighboring Croatia are part of the future. However, there has been speculation, internal and external, regarding the possibility of Slovenia's reintegration into Yugoslavia. The internal speculation is reflected in nostalgic glances at lost markets and the external concerns the creation of some kind of Yugoslav economic community.

[Kucan] I do not think there is any real possibility of a rebirth of Yugoslavia, least of all any internal possibility. However, what worries me are the constant attempts to revive the economic market on the territory of the former Yugoslavia by those responsible for solving the crises there. They still do not understand what happened in Yugoslavia, why it fell apart, or they simply do not

want to learn anything from this process. I am talking about the Geneva proposals where prime ministers are supposed to meet to discuss the payment system that is an element of a common market.

As for the internal reasons, it is true that the Slovene economy suffered because of the loss of the Yugoslav market, together with the loss of markets in the Middle East due to the Gulf war and in Eastern Europe due to the disintegration there. These things are connected, but the Slovene economy would have encountered difficulties regardless of this because that is normal when you switch from one economic and political system to another. It is true that the Slovene economy held a kind of privileged position in the Yugoslav market because despite non-competitive prices and a market not governed by economic laws, it was able to sell poor quality merchandise at relatively good prices. This helped those companies that would, sooner or later, have fallen through when faced with a real market. The "tragedy" of the loss of the Yugoslav market is echoed abroad by nostalgia and an appeal for its reestablishment, but this is unrealistic because Slovenia's economic interests are no longer turned towards Serbia.

The Illusions of International Policy

[Zagorac] Slovenia has managed to have a positive role in the solving of the Yugoslav crises. What are your impressions of the international moves regarding the solving of this crisis?

[Kucan] I think that there still are wrong assessments about what is really going on. There are still attempts to share the blame equally between the aggressor and the victim. It is still not clear that the war is not being waged by one part of Sarajevo against another, but that it is being waged from Belgrade. So long as Belgrade is not isolated, so long as Milosevic and his policy are regarded as legitimate, there is no point in the world pretending that it is alleviating the consequences of this policy, although it has every right and a moral duty to isolate and penalize the policy, the politician, and the state that so blatantly ignores the basic principles on which the modern international community is founded. This is the only way to morally compromise this policy before the Serbian public. As long as this policy is not morally compromised, no outside intervention will have any significant effect.

The world has long cherished the illusion that Panic is the answer, but the elections will show whether this is the realistic alternative to Milosevic. If so then there is sense in supporting Panic. If not, then it is only after Serbia has been banished from international life that it is worthwhile to start looking for inside support. The confrontation between Serbia and the world has to be replaced by a confrontation within Serbia itself.

[Zagorac] What do you expect from the Serbian elections?

[Kucan] I do not have enough information to be able to estimate this, but in view of the fact that there is a media blockade that is stopping the Serbian public from getting a real picture of what the world really thinks of Milosevic, of Serbia's role in the Bosnian war, I do not believe that Milosevic, who figures as a national savior, has been compromised enough to lose the elections. With its attitude, the world has actually done everything to help him win.

[Zagorac] The UN Protection Forces mandate in Croatia will soon be up. How do you estimate its effect and the period that will follow?

[Kucan] As far as I know, very little has been done to implement the Vance plan. I think the role of the UN Protection Forces has been positive insofar as there have been no new conflicts of greater dimensions and no new casualties and destruction. They did not, however, do what they were supposed to do: reestablish Croatian authority on occupied territory, establish equality of organs [as published], make possible the return of exiles, and normalize life in general. Therefore, I think it is time for the UN Protection Forces mandate to be up, but in view of what could still happen after they are gone, I think that conditions are not yet mature. The responsibility for this lies primarily with the United Nations, which simply did not play the expected role. This thing must be resolutely put before the Security Council and Slovenia must play an active part because things that should have been restored simply were not.

[Zagorac] Do you wish to add anything?

[Kucan] I would like to wish everyone in Croatia a merry Christmas and a happy New Year.

[Box, p 4]

A Long Talk With Tudjman

[Zagorac] In Brdo President Tudjman and yourself agreed to have more frequent informal contacts which would help create better understanding between the two states. What is this like in practice at the moment?

[Kucan] It is not the responsibility of presidents to deal with problems operationally, but it is their responsibility to establish a good political atmosphere which in turn eases the task of those who are experts and who have the authority and are responsible for doing so. I think that by holding this meeting, we have done precisely that. Three months have passed since the meeting of government delegations and two since our meeting. At the time the government in Zagreb took it upon itself to prepare a proposal for a new economic agreement. It has been three months but there is still no agreement. A border commission has been formed, which I think is a successful step, and we are working on other areas as well, but the public has not been adequately informed about the results. This I think is not good. I will certainly meet

with Tudjman again in the early spring, and, after the Slovene Government is formed, the delegations will also meet again.

Tudjman and I speak to each other from time to time not only to discuss our mutual cooperation but also to discuss international issues. I find it a personal honor that the first person to call me on Monday morning, a day after the elections, was Tudjman. We talked for a long time and I later received his formal congratulations in writing. This, after all, speaks of a special attention, a special interest not only in myself personally, but also in Slovenia. In any case, Slovenia remains a foreign policy priority for Croatia, and Croatia occupies the same place in Slovenia's foreign policy.

The Intervention

[Zagorac] For quite some time now, you have been of the opinion that a military intervention would be of no use.

[Kucan] I believe that a military intervention for the protection of humanitarian help in Bosnia, similar to the one in Somalia, is fine and I think it is high time for it. However, because I believe that the war is directed from Belgrade, I think that we should think carefully about whether a military intervention against Serbia would produce any results. First of all, there is little chance of its happening, and secondly, it just might bring the Serbs closer together around their thesis of a Comintern-Vatican plot and the existence of an outside enemy, so that the Serbs as a sacrificed people have to fight against everyone. In spite of the fact that the world would probably win this war, the focal point of the crisis would not be eliminated.

Parties Respond to Liberals' Proposal of Coalition

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[Editorial Report] Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene on 4 January at 1430 GMT carries several reports outlining the efforts to form a new Slovene coalition government:

The studio announcer says that the name of the prime minister-designate of the new Slovene Government should be known "today or tomorrow." He also says that "there are no longer any obstacles for President Kucan to conduct talks about the possible prime minister-designate with the leaders of the clubs of deputies of parliamentary parties as all parties have formed their clubs of deputies and appointed their heads or acting heads."

In the light of the coalition agreement proposed by the Liberal Democratic Party [LDS] yesterday, the studio announcer says that "the LDS still hopes that the Christian Democrats will also decide to enter the government." He says that the LDS "is also counting on the support of Jelincic's party [the Slovene National Party] and the deputies of the ethnic minorities." LDS leader Gregor Golobic says that "the position of the Christian Democrats is anything but clear," and adds that the Christian Democrats are under various pressures from within the party. He expresses the opinion that the position of the Christian Democrats "has not yet been defined" and that the LDS expects this in the next few days.

The studio announcer says that Lojze Peterle, the leader of the Christian Democrats, has stated that the "coalition agreement was too general." Peterle himself says that "to us this does not mean the end of talks" and that the party expects "a more detailed program" on the basis of which it will then make a decision.

"The coordinating group of the United List will officially discuss the draft coalition agreement this afternoon," the announcer says. He also says that the party at yesterday's preliminary discussion concluded that the proposed agreement "merits discussion." "Miran Potrc, head of the club of deputies of the United List, believes that an agreement on a cabinet list should be signed prior to the signing of the coalition agreement," says the announcer.

Regarding the proposed coalition agreement, Dr. Dusan Plut, president of the Greens of Slovenia, says that the offer "will not change our initial position, which is not to take part in the government coalition, but rather to act as a constructive opposition." However, Plut goes on, the party will nevertheless "support Dr. Janez Drnovsek as prime minister-designate and the cabinet that he will propose."

The main committee of the Democratic Party will discuss the draft coalition agreement this afternoon, and the party is not "even closing its doors to a so-called grand coalition," the announcer says. Party President Igor Bavcar voices some objections to the coalition's program, "which seems too general for us," and says that "the program will definitely have to be discussed by the potential coalition partners."

Dr. Joze Pucnik, president of the Social Democratic Party, says that the party will decide about the coalition agreement at the session of the party's presidium this afternoon. As he says, the party expects two, or at least one ministerial post, and, as a precondition for the final acceptance of the agreement, wants "Drnovsek to explain how the ministerial posts will be divided."

'Favorable Trends' in Exports Examined

93BA0422G Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 21 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Darja Kocbek: "October Results Exceeded Expectations"]

[Text] Slovenia's trade with foreign countries (not counting the states of the former Yugoslavia) has increased during the final months of this year. To a great extent the favorable trends in September also continued during October, since exports increased by 5.1 percent during that month in comparison with September.

Slovene enterprises thus exported $458.2 million in goods to those countries in October.

Between January and October 1992, they exported 8.2 percent more goods to countries outside the former Yugoslavia than during the same period last year. During the first 10 months of this year, Slovene enterprises exported 15.6 percent more goods to the EC countries than during the same period last year, and 20.5 percent more to EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. They have thus already exported to developed markets 85 percent of the total goods sold to foreign countries (not counting the states of the former Yugoslavia), which is 15.5 percent more than in the same period last year.

After Slovenia had a foreign trade deficit in July and August, it had a considerable surplus in September ($76.5 million). Although the Republic Institute for Statistics expected exports to improve again in September (the end of summer, and measures that had a favorable effect upon exports), it was still surprised by such favorable results, especially when it determined that they were not due to a backlog in reporting customs declarations. In the September data, in fact, 98 percent of the declarations had a current customs date, and that share is even 1 percent higher for imports. In October Slovenia had a surplus of $73.3 million in foreign trade (not counting the states of the former Yugoslavia).

Between January and October 1992, exports by Slovene enterprises increased the most to France, Germany, Austria, and Great Britain. Exports also increased more than in past years to Portugal, Norway, the Netherlands, and Spain. Whereas exports by our enterprises to the former Soviet Union declined considerably last year and during the first half of this year, during the second half of the year they began to revive again slowly (in 1990 Slovene enterprises exported approximately 13 percent of the goods to that country, and now they are only exporting 4.7 percent to the countries that emerged in that area). Exports to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland are likewise increasing.

Slovenia's exports to the states of the former Yugoslavia, however, have declined this year (this is mostly business with Croatia). In October those exports were 8.4 percent lower than in September (exports to Croatia were even 13.5 percent lower). During the first 10 months of 1992, Slovenia exported approximately $1.3 billion in goods to the states of the former Yugoslavia. Slovene enterprises' imports from the states of the former Yugoslavia, however, are increasing. During the first 10 months of this year, they already reached 96.4 percent of last year's total value, even though at the beginning of this year they were considerably lower than in 1991. Now, in fact, they are increasing every month, and if they continue to increase like that until the end of the year, their value will be the same as or even higher than last year, according to the Republic Institute for Statistics. In October, imports from the states of the former Yugoslavia were 4.6 percent higher.

Federal

Cosic Addresses Nation on Orthodox Christmas Eve

LD0601181493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 January (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], said in an address to the nation this evening that "the outcome of the Geneva negotiations will have a fateful impact on the political recovery of the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans."

If the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not accept the stipulated constitutional principles of the new state of Bosnia-Hercegovina, then, we are told directly, we soon will be the target of a war and missile attack by the United States of America and NATO. The Serbs therefore are faced with a terrible dilemma: political and military capitulation, or an assault by the world's most powerful forces, Cosic said.

The text of Cosic's address reads:

Citizens of the FRY, it is my duty to address you at this moment and to inform you about the position of our state in the present world order and about the internal situation. These factors directly condition our future. My civic and patriotic consciousness tells me to warn the political, economic, spiritual, and moral factors in our society about the extraordinary situation in which our country has found itself, with the realistic chance that tomorrow can be more difficult for us than today, that it will be a long time before things improve unless—in these extraordinary conditions—we all make exceptional efforts for the salvation of the nation and state, and for the development and progress of our country.

Do not expect me to tell you in this address something you do not know, but I will present to you my convictions and views about a way to a more certain tomorrow. Unless something major happens and there are changes in the world today; unless responsible statesmen in Europe, the United States of America and Russia realize that it is in their interest to replace their negative policy toward the FRY with a positive policy and with more respect for reality and rights on the soil of former Yugoslavia, particularly on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina; we might face extreme adversity and great misfortunes in the near future. We cannot avoid these misfortunes unless we invest fresh and exceptional efforts to cooperate with the world community, unless we go out of our way to embrace peaceful and democratic forces in the world, and unless we defend more convincingly than before our national and state interests and goals.

Judging by the existing difficulties, the perils for national and state survival, and the uncertainties over what tomorrow might bring, we probably are going through our most difficult days in the 20th century. I would say that only 1915 was more difficult than 1993. One-quarter of our people are caught up in a horrible war and live in fear of genocide; tens of thousands are in exile and the rest are in quarantine. To be more precise, the gravity of our situation lies in the extraordinary international position of our state; in the social, ideological, and political chaos; in divisions and contradictions; in the development and economic paralysis caused by international sanctions and blockade; in the absence of awareness, will, and morals to work in a united and organized fashion for survival and progress. It is certain that we did not deserve to be expelled from the world community and all those international forums that decide on the present and future of peoples and nations. It is certain that a grave injustice is being done to us. It is certain that the changed international constellation has enabled enemies of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people to turn their defeats in two world wars into a victory in the period of relative peace. It is certain that the day will come when the light will shine on our truth and we will see ourselves as a nation loving freedom and justice; a nation capable and worthy of building and creating; a nation of good, sincere, and honest people.

However, we have not gotten there yet, and for a long time our faces will be hidden by darkness. Insane and evil forces of the world—assisted by our national and ideological delusions, incompetence, and inadequacies for these modern times; our immaturity in the face of these historical trials; and our narrow-minded and power-hungry politicians and uprooted intelligentsia; and therefore, with the full participation of our domestic shortcomings and guilt—these evil and insane forces of the world have surrounded us with misunderstanding, contempt, and hatred. Today we are being tried in absentia; we are being sentenced without the right to appeal; we are threatened by ultimatums, based on lies, for national and state capitulation, and if we refuse to comply, we are put in concentration camps and threatened with an assault by the world's most powerful armies. Serbia and Montenegro have been put in the position of a hostage for the Serbs in Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Croatia who are fighting for bare survival. We have received threats of unprecedented calamities and suffering from all sides.

The day before yesterday I returned from Geneva following the completion of the first round of the conference dedicated to ending the interethnic, religious, and civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to the search for political solutions that will provide peaceful and free life for Serbs, Muslims, and Croats in the territory which the world's powers and those ideologies fatal for the Balkans have proclaimed as an independent state creation, in that most unfortunate political creation in the European continent in modern history. The future policy of the European Community, the United States of America, the United Nations and the entire world community toward the FRY will—we are told by authoritative politicians—depend on the outcome of the Geneva conference. The outcome of the Geneva conference will condition the final decision on military intervention, on a war of the United States and the EC against the

Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but Serbia and Montenegro also are threatened by the same horror. The Geneva talks and agreements will have a direct, and in the short term a fateful impact on the political outcome of the liberation struggle of the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and on whether the Serb nation there will be granted or denied the basic national and human rights on which a Serb state and political community, and relations with Muslims and Croats should be based. The outcome of the Geneva talks will have a direct influence on the lifting or tightening of the sanctions against the FRY. The outcome of the Geneva conference will be reflected most directly in the conflict between Croats and Serbs and on future relations between the FRY and Croatia. In one word: The outcome of the Geneva negotiations, coordinated by cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen, will have a fateful impact on the political recovery of the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

If the Geneva negotiations on the resolution of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis have such importance, the citizens of Montenegro and Serbia must ask themselves: What has been done in Geneva so far? What are the prospects for the continuation of negotiations on 10 January? And what is it that representatives of the Serb Republic and the FRY are urging in Geneva?

First of all, I must say that the present political developments in Geneva in many aspects represent a kind of a modern repetition of the 1878 Berlin Congress and the 1908 annexation crisis, when the European powers took on the sovereign and suzerain right to make decisions on the political and state future of the Serbian nation and other nations on the territory of the then and the present-day Bosnia-Hercegovina. Today as well, world powers—the EC, the United States, and the UN Security Council—are endeavoring by all means to make decisions on the national and state position of the Serbian nation, subordinating it to Muslim hegemony and greater Croatia aspirations.

I returned from Geneva more concerned than I have ever been for the future of the Serb people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also for the future of the FRY. Even though we have some reasons to hope that hostilities can cease or at least be limited; even though we have the right to believe that some kind of human reasoning will reduce or limit the killing and destruction in Sarajevo and the eviction of innocent people from their homes in this cold weather; even though we can hope that at least means for the supply of humanitarian aid for the hungry, diseased, and freezing people will be secured—hope for which was sparked by the Geneva negotiations so far—the talks on political solutions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina tragedy are not very promising.

Diplomatic officials of the EC have drawn up ethnic maps for the Serbian people and divided them into provinces. Diplomatic officials of the EC, blessed by the Security Council and powerful arbitrators, wrote constitutional principles for the new Bosnia-Hercegovina and presented them to the warring sides, demanding that they be accepted. Their projection of that constitution is the least favorable for Serbs. If they do not accept the state creation that is annulling the political will and democratic rights of the Serbian people, and not only the Serbian people; if they do not accept the state creation that is not only failing to acknowledge and remove the motives of the interethnic, religious, and civil war, but is multiply them, threatening to transfer Bosnia-Hercegovina into a permanent and genocidal battlefield and interethnic, religious, and Jihad arena; if the Serbs, therefore, do not accept the constitutional principles of the new state of Bosnia-Hercegovina imposed through an ultimatum, then we are told to our face that they will soon experience war operations and missile attack [ratni and reketni napad] by the United States and NATO troops. [sentence as received]

The Serbs, therefore, face a horrible dilemma: Political and military capitulation, or an attack by the most powerful countries in the world.

The question of how to resolve the dilemma is indeed a fateful question for us. We are in fact solving it by determinedly defending our basic rights, offering democratic and just solutions to all three peoples, and making reasonable and honorable concessions. Fortunately for the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, they are represented by capable, courageous, and principled people who are also prepared to hold honorable negotiations and make compromises. We—representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—are tying to help them in this, defending the interests of the national and state integrity, reflected in the united Serbia and Montenegro, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Do we hope that our political and diplomatic efforts will succeed? I think that there are reasons for hope.

The Serbian question has become a European question and a world question. It was made such by the present day international setup. The settlement of the Serbian question represents the basis of the universal suppositions for the settlement of many ethnic problems in the Balkans, Russia, Europe, and the world.

Among the statesmen and politicians of the contemporary world there are many sensible, wise, and conscientious people working for the good of the people, people devoted to peace and freedom, justice, and truth, such as Cyrus Vance, Butrus-Ghali [UN secretary-general], Owen, Nambiar [UN Protection Forces commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina], McKenzie [former UN Protection Forces commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina], Eli Wiesel [Nobel peace prize winner and human rights activist], and numerous Greek, Romanian, British, Russian, American, French, and Italian politicians and other intellectuals and journalists who make up the public opinion. There is a growing number of politicians who are beginning to understand the numerous and fatal

mistakes made by the EC, the United States, Russia, and the United Nations by hastily supporting the break up of Yugoslavia and by prematurely recognizing the state borders of the seceding republics—especially Bosnia-Hercegovina with its Muslim hegemony and Islamic ideology, which led to interethnic and religious war. Political prudence currently emerging in the world is beginning to realize that a war against the Serbian people would be a historic and universal crime that would bloody the face of the whole world and make Serbia's misfortune the misfortune of many.

We Serbs are obliged before the world and the future to make the Serbian question in its essence and form a democratic, humanist, and peaceful question if the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be ended with political and democratic means and if the Serbian question—and thus the question of the Croats, Muslims, and Albanians on the soil of the former Yugoslavia—is to be solved justly and once and for all.

If the Serbian question ceases to be democratic, if the Serbian national interests are not defended with peaceful means, agreements, and compromises—with understanding and respect for other people's interests, rights, and justice for others around us—we as a nation will be historically defeated.

We must oblige all real peacemakers and democrats and offer them a friendly hand. No one will help us in our troubles if we do not deserve this help. We must persistently try to convince those who do not understand us and do not want to understand the truth and our rights that they are making mistakes. We must be fair to our opponents and enemies. We must cooperate with all those who are fighting for human rights and who wish peace and freedom; we must help them in realizing human rights, peace, and freedom.

Our vital question at this moment is: Are we as a nation, as a society, and a state republic of Serbia and Montenegro ready for a moral and political accomplishment at a time when we are experiencing crucial tests? In other words, do we have strength and intelligence to unite ourselves and defeat first of all our own troubles, and then those others that encompass us?

I took the floor tonight to advise and make an appeal to you which, I am convinced, strives toward a positive answer to the above questions. This advice is most directly conditioned on our electoral results. With the elections for new assemblies and governments, we unfortunately have not improved our position in the world, which is our vital consideration—we have even aggravated it in some aspects. A domestic political battle which, regarding its ideological contents, also represents a continuation of the civil war. Some party opponents have inconsistently replaced their war clothes with civilian clothes—changed the talk, but not their fighting spirits, basic ides, and personal aims.

In the elections, it was not all the time the parties and personalities with ideas and programs for the salvation and renewal of the country who competed. In the elections, it was individual parties, their leaders, and candidates who competed in intolerance, hatred, false promises, untruths, and half-truths about reality and the world we live in. Even those people who feel like winners, who received the largest number of votes, have won them not so much on the basis of former merits and good and realistic political programs as on the basis of characteristics and shortcomings of their opponents. These elections have been won by those parties and candidates who were the most convincing in promising the bewildered and confused people that they will protect national interests. The others have lost only because they did not give a strong national word that they will protect national interests. Those people who were the loudest in their heroic boasts and in threatening enemies and the world that Serbia and Montenegro will die for their national integrity and dignity, apart from their making noise about being the best Serbs and heroes—something that they still failed to prove—these self-admiring patriots have still not expressed any realistic proposal or fruitful idea about how to save this country from the troubles looming over it.

To avoid these troubles, one must carry out a new state and national policy—the wise, moral, and democratic forces of Serbia and Montenegro who are capable of carrying out a new policy must gather and rally immediately. It is certain that many new and capable people have been elected in these elections. To our concern, some people have been elected who—with their political biographies; ideas; conduct; and vengeful threats against Albanians, Croats, and Muslims—are endangering the democratic character of our state, bringing enemies to it, and justifying their evil intentions. According to these people, our enemies are accusing the entire people. Such people are not coming from one political party alone—these people who are providing a reason for the world to despise and hate us as backward and belligerent people are from many parties.

Willfulness and political spite are now disguised by national principles—party politics and craving for power are being hidden behind state reasons. Even now, when our destiny is being decided upon, some politicians only care about their own personal power. Even the old ideological fallacies are disguised behind national ideology, and national ideology is turning into nationalism in which radicalism and extremism with chauvinist motives are rising to the top. Such an ideology is threatening to throw the entire country to Europe's political bottom. There were small and historically backward people to whom we have not belonged for a long time and for centuries are suffering.

I propose, appeal, and ask all political parties to immediately start talks and agreements for creating a concentration [koncentarcioni] government, a government of national and state salvation, democratic unity of Montenegro and Serbia, party and non-party representatives, experts and prominent people who can bear political,

moral, and historical responsibility for the survival of our new state and ensuring vital interests of the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro.

Let us suppress the party policy and politicking for the benefit of state and national policy. Let us unite with respect for differences in ideas and characters. Let us rally for the rescue of the country and a calmer future for our children.

If we do not do this tomorrow, then the day after tomorrow will be too late. Our days have turned into years, and weeks are now decades. Time lost now will be lost for good.

To the Orthodox believers and all citizens who celebrate the most exciting Christian and national holiday, I wish a calm and Merry Christmas Eve, Dobrica Cosic said at the end.

Cosic Discusses Peace Proposal With Vance, Owen

LD0601161493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—FRY President Dobrica Cosic received Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, in the Palace of the Federation today. It has been learned that their talks, which started early this afternoon, were a continuation of the Geneva negotiations and a preparation for the second round of negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina which is to be held next weekend in the Geneva Palais des Nations. That round of negotiations should resolve a basic dilemma—whether Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president] and Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president] will put their signatures to a package containing two documents: on the constitutional system of Bosnia-Hercegovina and a cease-fire agreement. Both documents have already been signed by Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats.

The cochairmen's talks with the Yugoslav president only confirm what is already well-known, that Vance and Owen hold Dobrica Cosic in high esteem, whom they publicly described in Geneva as the "intellectual star" of the first round of negotiations, and they expect him to help in the settlement of the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict with his mediatory wisdom.

FRY Envoy to UN Debates Security Council Moves

LD0701033193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0111 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] New York, January 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations, Dragomir Djokic, on Wednesday [6 January] warned the chairman of the U.N. Security Council, Japanese Ambassdor Yoshio Hatano, that the Security Council should not adopt decisions which might jeopardize the continuation of the Geneva talks since the results of the talks so far provide for optimism in finding a peaceful and political solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Commenting the announced adoption of a resolution authorizing the use of force to ensure the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is what the United States insists on, Djokic said it would be better to allow a continuation of the Geneva negotiations and later decide whether such a decision is necessary or not.

The Security Council is increasingly inclined to do something—perhaps issue a presidential statement—to lend support to the negotiations before they continue in Geneva on Sunday. This is what France proposes, and it is upheld by Great Britain, Russia and some other countries.

Hatano said the Geneva talks between the leaders of the three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Moslems, Serbs and Croats, with the mediation of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman—have entered a stage whose outcome might mark a turn towards finding a political solution.

The first round of the Geneva talks, at which the co-chairmen of the conference on the former yugoslavia Lord David Owen and Cyrus Vance suggested that Bosnia-Hercegovina become a decentralized state divided into 10 provinces with broad autonomy, was held from January 2 to 4.

Hatano said the question of U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia, introduced on May 31 and stepped up on November 16 as well as Yugoslavia's status in the United Nations, greatly depended on the course and outcome of the Geneva talks.

Informing Hatano about the difficult situation in Yugoslavia resulting from the U.N. sanctions, Djokic said the situation was particularly dramatic in humanitarian institutions in winter conditions, since the sanctions include an oil embargo.

Hatano informed Djokic pressure was increasing that the Security Council to place on its agenda the question of the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija, where ethnic Albanians are the majority population.

According to Hatano, U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali is against rash actions and urges quiet diplomacy in the matter, but a number of Security Council member-states disagree with this approach.

To Djokic's warning that any discussion or decisions on this delicate issue which would not be approved by the Yugoslav Government might result in unwanted consequences, Hatano said that the Security Council acknowledged this.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians is active in Kosovo-Metohija. Its leaders have illegally proclaimed the province a republic and want it to secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia and unite with Albania.

Commenting the fact that the U.N. Security Council will in January discuss the question of war criminals in former Yugoslavia, Djokic pointed out the stand of the Yugoslav Government that all war criminals should be responsible for their acts and that the Yugoslav Government activly cooperated, by providing all information at its disposal to the U.N. commission for war criminals.

However, the Yugoslav Government expects and insists that equal attention be given to all sources of information about war criminals in the former Yugoslavia, Djokic said.

Final Results Give Socialists 47 Seats

LD0601232093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2243 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 6 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) won 47 and the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) 34 seats in the 138-seat Chamber of Citizens in the Yugoslav parliament after the December 20 elections, according to final results announced on Wednesday [6 January].

The SPS, headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, had the majority both in the republican and federal parliament prior to the elections, and won the most votes (not the majority) in the republic elections on December 20.

SRS, an ultraright party, was the second-biggest party in the federal parliament prior to the elections, when most opposition parties in Serbia and Montenegro, which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, boycotted the federal elections last May. SRS is the second-biggest party in the Serbian parliament after the December 20 elections.

The president of the Federal Electoral Commission, Rajko Nisavic, said that 67.4 percent of over 7.3 million voters turned out at the elections.

The Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS), a forum of opposition parties and independent intellectuals, won 20 seats in the federal parliament. DEPOS includes the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), which was the strongest opposition party in the Serbian parliament prior to the elections. DEPOS is in third place in the republican parliament after these elections.

The Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (DPS), the ruling party in this republic prior to and after the elections, won 17 seats in the federal parliament.

The Belgrade-based Democratic Party (DS) and the Socialist Party of Montenegro each won five seats in the federal parliament, the national party four seats, the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians three seats, the coalition of the DS and the reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina (RDSV) two seats and the coalition of the DS, RDSV and the Civic Party one seat.

SRS leader Vojislav Seselj said on Wednesday that his party was open to all initiatives for the make-up of both the federal and the republican governments, adding it was up to the SPS, as the party which won the elections, to launch initiatives for the composition of the new governments.

Seselj told a news conference that his party had neither had, nor was having any official contacts with any party on the make-up of the new government.

DEPOS on Wednesday said it had not had, and was not having talks with the SPS about a possible coalition.

"All rumours to this effect are unfounded and malicious," DEPOS said in a statement.

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Geneva Conference Cochairmen

AU0601215693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Report by Zoran Jevdjovic on news conference by Cyrus Vance and David Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic after their talks in Belgrade on 6 January—recorded; all questions and answers are in English with simultaneous Serbo-Croatian translation, except last question and last answer, which are in Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, received today Cyrus Vance, cochairman of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia. They were joined a bit later by Lord Owen, the other cochairman of the conference. The talks lasted over four hours, after which President Milosevic invited his guests to lunch.

This is what Vance, Owen, and Milosevic had to say to foreign and domestic reporters after the talks:

[Vance] We discussed today various parts of the talks, the progress made so far, and questions that we have to keep in mind. All of us agree, including Mr. Milosevic, that we all want to and have to find peace. I was pleased to hear him say so, and that he would do all he could to see that peace is really found. I think that David wants to says something.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you share Mr. Vance's views?

[Owen] Yes, of course. We spoke last week and we think that this is absolutely the historic moment for these negotiations. As you well know, on 2 January 1992, Mr. Vance and Mr. Milosevic reached an agreement. There are still some problems there, but there is no more war between Croatia and Serbia. We can reach a similar

agreement for Bosnia-Hercegovina next Sunday [10 January] or Monday, and then the problem of the former Yugoslavia will be for the most part solved. Then we can press forward at achieving some joint arrangements where some states of the former Yugoslavia will become a part of Europe in the wider sense. I think that many of them want to establish trade and other activities in our entire continent, and [words indistinct] to each other.

[Unidentified correspondent] So you have the full support of Mr. Milosevic for the Geneva plan? [general laughter] Mr. Milosevic, can we hear from you?

[Milosevic] Well, I would like to say that we had very open and frank discussions and exchange of views, but that there are many problems connected with the Yugoslav crisis. There is no doubt that we are all willing and ready to support any peaceful process, to help establish peace in that part of the world.

[Unidentified correspondent] Have you reached any concrete agreement?

[Milosevic] We spoke about all the issues connected with the peace conference. I want to assure you that Serbia will support all peaceful steps and measures. It is very important to me that the main principle of the general approach to the problems connected with the war in Bosnia, and the solution to the situation of Bosnia, is equal respect for all three constituent nations. I am convinced that there is no other solution but respect for the equal interests of the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Because of that, I believe that the only solution is the immediate cessation of hostilities, followed by negotiations on those principles keeping in mind that there are equal rights of all three constituent nations. That is the only way to find lasting peace. Only in the interests of all three nations can there be lasting peace. I am sure that these are the views of the two cochairmen of the Geneva conference and that is why I think that everyone should support their efforts to find a final solution together with all the sides in the conflict.

[Unidentified correspondent] Was there any word of Kosovo? We have heard that the cochairmen brought it up. Are there any attempts to link up the Kosovo situation with the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Geneva talks?

[Milosevic] There are always such attempts, but they are certainly not made by the cochairmen. I think that, in that respect, the cochairmen are men with an impartial approach to problems. I am very encouraged by their approach because even today both of them very categorically stressed that there is no question of support for any secession of Kosovo from Serbia. That fact is not only respected in Serbia and Yugoslavia but is obviously totally respected by the international community. Kosovo is Serbia and always will be.

We will solve the problems that exist in Kosovo ourselves. Of course, we have to solve many problems connected with education and that boycott of schools, we have to solve many problems connected with the organization of the health service and other problems, but we will solve those as problems in our own country with some help from the international community, which does not intend to internationalize this problem or give support to separatist movements. It is exclusively oriented in the direction of human rights and we have stressed from the start that we respect those. As you well know, we guarantee the highest level of human rights as guaranteed by the CSCE. The issue of human rights does not even come up. We will continue to guarantee them in future.

Handling of Election "Malpractices" Criticized

AU0701122793 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 92 p 7

[Report by Djordje Martic: "Parties Are Angry; Officials Keep Silent"]

[Text] In the times marked by inflation, nobody takes to heart changeable figures any longer. The public indifferently took the news that in a Belgrade polling station, the Serbian Radical Party's voting score had multiplied itself 59 times, and that had been in the period beginning with the conclusion of vote count and finishing with the official announcement by the Republican Electoral Commission. In a copy of the record from polling station No. 12 in the Belgrade precinct of Vracar, there is the data that the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] received only one vote. However, the Republican Electoral Commission announced that the radicals had received 59 votes there. The Socialists officially received 154 votes there, instead of the 59 verified. Compared with the Radicals' score, the Socialists' score was modestly enlarged—not more than three times.

Last Friday [25 December], Dr. Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Board of the Democratic Party, showed us the copy of the record that so drastically contradicts the statement of the commission.

"Where to Start?"

Djindjic's assertion is very serious, because it includes the accusation of fraud, which might produce serious consequences. If it happens that Djindjic's assertion is not true, then he, too, may be brought up on charges and may find himself in the additional danger of being accused either by anyone from polling station No. 12 in Vracar or by the Republican Electoral Commission. However, nothing is going to happen, because everything has been accepted as a detail of our political style.

Milenko Radic, a lawyer and a member of the Council of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS], that is the party most dissatisfied with the campaign's course, says that the fact that unbelievable news on the Radicals' and the Socialists' vote counts did not cause any reaction is not mere chance. According to Radic, the passivity of the legal mechanism is logical, for nobody knows where to start with draining a sea of transgressions.

"During the campaign, approximately 40,000 transgressions were committed solely by invalid deletion of citizens from electoral rolls," Radic claims.

Radic corroborates his assertions with statistics. According to the electoral rolls, even 82,000 fewer citizens went to the polls this time than during the last elections. Any invalid roll deletion is a breach of the law, and a lawbreaker is to be sentenced to at least one year in prison. According to Radic, the number of at least 40,000 deletions is only a drop in the ocean of transgressions, where the law is not able to orientate itself any more, and the only solution appears to be looking the other way. "The limit of tolerance has fallen so low that today a man is prosecuted only if he chops somebody's arm off, and nobody is paying any attention to words," Radic says, mentioning an increase of "traitors", and "agents' in everyday political clashes.

"One-Party Control"

The complaints officially lodged by the DEPOS to the Republican Electoral Commission also deal with numbers of malpractices.

The DEPOS asserts that as much as 10 percent of the electorate was deleted from the rolls, that Serbian Television "flagrantly violated the principle of equality among the parties and their candidates," that there was either an oversupply or an undersupply of ballot papers, and that apart from the cases mentioned, regional electoral commissions illegally took part in the tally.

The merging of regional commissions with the "administrative highway" used for transport of results from polling stations to the center where they were totaled up, processed, and made public, seem to be the focal point of accusations, which has been pointed out even by Dr. Vladan Vasilijevic, expert on criminal law. He says that the data dispatch from polling stations to the Republican Electoral Commission was actually controlled by one party alone.

Vasilijevic is ready to think the worst of the whole procedure but also to reproach the opposition for their frequent news conferences. They should have engaged more in legal procedures and lodging complaints or accusations.

"Anyway, the only way out is to try to find out the truth, and that is possible only if the president of the FRY sets up a special state commission that should shed new light on the event," Vasilijevic says.

Mihailo Mihajlov, political commentator from Washington who is in Belgrade these days, has the same opinion. He thinks that setting up a state commission is a missed chance, since Dobrica Cosic has already accepted the official results. Nevertheless, the truth is all the more necessary, because the Socialist Party of Serbia also has objections on the course of the elections, especially regarding the polling in Belgrade.

Obviously, everyone has their own truth, and it is only an official truth that is missing. A reason for the passivity of law mechanism, accompanied with an overflow of doubts about the elections' regularity, is not to be found in the view that everything is stopped by someone's political brake. It is more likely that a political factor actually failed to come to pass, and without it the law was not able to act. The same applies to voters, who did not take the trouble to massively refuse the "secret" voting while a bunch of neighbors were glancing at their ballot papers from behind. Voting is such a delicate and personal act, that it can be compared only with trying on underwear in a dressing room of a store. However, many people did not mind the glances of strangers; many of them were very uncomfortable, but they all took part in it. Such conduct explains, perhaps, the current post-campaign atmosphere, with officials who are not responding to accusations, the opposition that is not reacting to the official indifference, and citizens who are taking that all as a newspaper oddity.

Sanctions Hit Automobile Industry Hard

AU0701114293 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 92 p 11

[Report by Dj. Vranjesevic on the news conference by "Zastava" stock company in Kragujevac on 28 December: "Redundancy Money for 2,000 Workers"]

[Excerpts] Kragujevac, 28 December— Compared with past years, when news conferences in "Zastava" stock company, traditionally held at the end of the year, discussed, for instance, why, instead of the planned 190,000, "only" 170,000 automobiles had been produced, and for that reason, only 39,000 automobiles had been exported, and not 50,000 as planned, this year the main topic was the question as to what would be done with the 3.2 billion dinars that had been provided by the Serbian government for the restoration of "Zastava's" most endangered automobile factory. Such gloomy tones have been fully expected, because the year end shows that seven months of sanctions inevitably defeated even the most optimistic beliefs in "a victory over the sanctions by one's own forces." In the last year, the automobile factory from Kragujevac delivered only 22,000 automobiles to domestic customers, and 2,000 to foreign customers. Several years ago—and under more difficult conditions—that number of cars would have been produced in thirty days. Out of 39 "Zastava" stockholders, one-third is coping relatively well with the sanctions, and is running the business with a certain profit, the second third is teetering on the verge of survival, and the last third, which also comprises the Automobile Factory, is only functioning artificially. That is to say, 80,000 workers in this factory are receiving their salaries from the republic's fund. In the whole "Zastava" company, out of 48,000 employees, 30,000 are having an irregular vacation, receiving an average salary of 126,000 dinars a month. [passage omitted]

In view of the present situation, and possibilities, in the next year around 40,000 automobiles should be produced, taking into consideration a certain weakening of the blockade in some segments from the second half of the next year on. In that case, the truck factory would restore optimal production in just two months, and that means the production of 12,000 trucks a year. In the case of a total blockade, this factory would produce only around 100 trucks a month next year. According to Dr. Radoljub Micic, and Zivorad Prokic, directors of the automobile factory, the amount of 3.2 billion dinars allocated by the Serbian government will be used to reduce the number of employees by 2,000. The workers who decide to leave the factory will receive compensation of between six and 24 times the monthly salary, thereby forgoing the possibility of working in any state-owned company for the next five years.

Sanctions Effect on MIN Company, Arms Production

93BA0402A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Nov 92 pp 12, 13

[Article by Risto Kostov: "The Nis Mechanical Engineering Works—a Holding Company: MIN's [Nis Mechanical Engineering Works] Unused Capacities"]

[Text] *In efforts to substitute the production of parts, equipment, and machinery for the Army of Yugoslavia, which were produced until recently in the former Yugoslav republics, the MIN holding company has a noticeable place, because it has large capacities, equipment, experts...*

The economic blockade is also leaving negative traces on the Nis Mechanical Engineering Works holding company, but the situation is better than two years ago. Then the collective experienced moments that number among the most difficult in its 108 years of existence. Based on the diversity of its production programs, of which there are about 300, and the number of employees —about 12,000, MIN is among the leading firms in the Republic of Serbia and the SR [Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia. Especially since the experts at MIN have completed a multitude of military programs for years.

Comprehensive Financial Consolidation

With the realization of the plan for production-financial consolidation, which included ownership restructuring, was begun in March of this year. More than 90 percent of the planned capitalization of 275 million dinars has been achieved. Thus institutional investors held shares against their claims or bought MIN shares and became the owners of share companies, or parts of the Mechanical Engineering Works. More than half the capacities (51 percent) are in the hands of MIN workers, while the owners of the remaining part are: the Fund for the Development of Serbia, Niska Banja, the Dunav ZOIL [Association for Property and Life Insurance], Invest-Banka, the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine, Prokupacka Banja, and it is expected that the Electric Power Economy of Serbia, Progres Beograd, and ZTP [Railroad Transport Enterprise] Beograd will participate in the consolidation program.

"Due to the March financial consolidation, about 12,000 workers in 35 share enterprises in the MIN holding company were practically not in the blockade, the workers regularly received their personal incomes, which amounted to an average of 50,000 dinars in September," graduate engineer Mr. Milovan Krivokapic, general director of the MIN holding company, commented on the current situation in the collective.

According to Krivokapic, many activities of MIN abroad (in Russia, some African and Arab countries) remained only on paper after the initiation of the blockade. Nevertheless, they hope that they will be continued after the end of the blockade, since the MIN experts in steel structures, particularly in designing bridges, are the best in the SR of Yugoslavia. The use of capacities currently varies widely—from 30 to 90 percent, but the life of the collective is assured with such work.

Fortunately, MIN received a lot of business in construction of the Cerovo mine, the Bor Mining-Smelting Basin, then production of transformers for ZTP Beograd and ZTP Podgorica, overhaul of locomotives and, naturally, the military bridges for federal supplies, or the needs of the JZ [Yugoslav Railroad] in the war, the production of which is practically finished.

General Director Mr. Krivokapic believes that the Federal Government is making a good move when it attempts to revitalize many capital systems, such as the gas line, but he has serious comments about the creation of a fund for taking care of workers who have remained without work since the beginning of the sanctions and blockade. It would be more productive, considers Mr. Krivokapic, for this money to be invested in reconstruction and construction of new bridges, electrification, in agriculture, construction of irrigation systems. In this way the country would gain, and there would be work for many, unemployed by the force of circumstances.

The first man of the MIN holding company considers that in MIN, on the basis of observations by military experts, tremendous possibilities are opening up for greater cooperation with the Army of Yugoslavia.

Prospects for Military Programs

The Mechanical Engineering Works in Nis have great assets: buildings, machinery, modern equipment, applied technologies, institutes, laboratories, engineering, experts... One of MIN's qualities is that it can easily and quickly adapt production to many military programs, says graduate mechanical engineer Radeta Zivanovic, executive director of industrial transport. Zivanovic points out that a wealth of production programs up to now have included bridge, port, coastal, and

construction cranes, the users of which, especially of the latter, have been military enterprises.

The specialist for military programs in the MIN holding company is Doctor of Technical Sciences Dragoslav Stefanovic, deputy general director for military industry. We asked him how he assesses the cooperation between MIN and the Army of Yugoslavia.

"Despite the fact that we got the T 55 tank for overhauling, and we have the license for the construction of military bridges and numerous cranes for the Army of Yugoslavia, I consider this cooperation to be below our capacities. I believe that we will not be allowed to import parts and equipment and that we will do everything to master, as soon as possible, the production of those parts that until recently were produced by enterprises in the former Yugoslav republics."

Dr. Dragoslav Stefanovic believes the time is right for the reorientation of military industry. In his opinion, it will be essential to provide for narrowly specialized military enterprises which, in number and output, will be significantly smaller than the existing ones in military industry. Stefanovic believes that a concept recognized and known throughout the world should be adopted: to develop cooperative production in civil enterprises which will work for the needs of the army according to market principles. This means, among other things, that if the need for one military program ends suddenly, the factory or plant can reorient itself to civilian programs without great difficulty, and vice versa. Military secrecy can be preserved effectively in such cases.

Work is now in progress in Nis on the production of FAB 100 and FAB 200 air bombs and, together with experts of the Nis Electronic Industry, on an experimental series of the T 55 tank, repairs and service of technical-motorized equipment, vehicle cranes, pontoon bridges...

"We have applied for production of the upgrading kits for the armored transporter, including production of the armored body. We have shown that only MIN and GOSA can work out the hull. We have some 10 quality machines just for this part," Dr. Dragoslav Stefanovic commented on the capabilities of MIN.

They point out in the MIN holding company that they have also mastered the production of castings and forged pieces, which until recently were produced in Bosnia-Hercegovina or Slovenia.

Therefore, although the Mechanical Engineering Works in Nis is among the enterprises that have broad and long-standing cooperation with the state in the area of military industry, they are just now expecting new business, because they consider that the subsitution of parts and equipment that were produced in the former Yugoslav republics must be quickly worked on.

And how great the importance is of the Nis Mechanical Engineering Works holding company in wartime conditions is adequately illustrated by the fact that its factories are even then continuing to work.

Specialized Teams Ready

Dragomir Bogdanovic, manager of the Defense Service of MIN, informs us that there are specialized civil defense units in the collective:

"They are well organized, equipped, and trained firefighters, units for first aid, RBX [radiological-biological-chemical] protection and rescue and I think that we can depend faithfully on them in the case of possible aggression.

There is war experience among the employees in the MIN holding company, because about 300 workers participated in the defense of the Serbian population in the last war. Unfortunately, three died. The MIN collective has not forgotten them or their families, or those wounded. A badly wounded welder, for example, recently got a small apartment, and those less seriously wounded—financial assistance.

The supply situation and international relations are, for now, without serious problems. The men have come to work, are waiting for these unfortunate sanctions and the economic blockade to pass and again to get the chance to do everything that they can. The impression is in the Mechanical Engineering Works that they can also make robots of steel. Above all, about 300 programs speak most eloquently about their capabilities.

[Box, p 12]

Programs Without Large Investments

Experts of the MIN holding company point out that they have capacities for military needs that are currently not being utilized, and large monetary resources are not necessary for activation. These are capacities for the production of cases for artillery shells ("Pretis" once did this), as well as for the production of quartermaster equipment—boilers for cooking... Many programs had earlier been taken from MIN and transferred to Slovenia. Now, they must again be revived.

Therefore, there are production shops, equipment, personnel. No additional large investment is necessary, except money for financing production. The question is, however, whether there is enough of it.

[Box, p 13]

Experts

Of about 12,000 workers (of whom about 2,000 are currently on mandatory leave because of the blockade), 850 are highly specialized personnel in the Mechanical Engineering Works in Nis. Of this number, 603 are mechanical engineering graduates, 18 have master's degrees, and five have doctorates in science.

Macedonia

Georgijevski Changes Stand on Serbia

93BA0426A Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 92 p 6

[Interview with Ljupco Georgijevski, leader of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity, by Mile Radenkovic; date and place not given: "Other View of Serbia"]

[Text] *In search of a way out of political anonymity, we, like all radical parties, have engaged in exaggeration in our statements. Our attitude toward Serbia and Yugoslavia was that way because of the presence of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the policy toward us; now there is no JNA, and that policy has also changed, so that we too have changed our stance toward Serbia. Turkey, Austria, Germany, Italy, and Albania are no friends of Macedonia.*

The leader of the most national Macedonian party, the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity], Ljupco Georgijevski, is probably the most controversial figure in pluralist politics in this region of the Balkans. In less than two years, he has grown from an anonymous, unemployed professor of literature into the leader of the extreme Macedonian opposition, a figure indelibly linked to a definitive resolution of the enigma of the Macedonian question.

Extreme in his statements, at first dangerously loyal to the "Bulgarian brothers" while infuriated at Yugoslavia—to whose breakup he contributed—and especially at Serbia, he brought on himself without his compatriots, but also without a good part of their first neighbors [as published]. In the first direct clash with his assumed and, lately, primary adversary, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, he got a rap on his knuckles, but after a six-month recovery he is now returning loudly to the Macedonian political scene. He recently performed an abrupt about-face in political doctrine. His open disavowal of all the aspersions that he has expressed against Serbia and many other things within the context of his party and his image prompted this interview.

[Radenkovic] What do you have to say about the current, apparently independent position of Macedonia and the ill-defined attitude of the international community toward its demands for international recognition?

[Georgijevski] It is a fact that for more than a year, ever since the other former Yugoslav republics were recognized, Macedonia has yet to be internationally recognized. It is also a fact that this has not happened primarily because of Greek opposition, but it is dishonest to blame Greece and the international community for everything. A good deal of the blame for this current attitude by the international community toward Macedonia falls to the communist regime here in Macedonia, which aside from being the last bastion of communism also lacks a well-defined foreign-policy strategy. Macedonia is certainly the last state in Europe in which communism has not been touched. For example, this regime was the last one to change the communist flag, and the recognition of Macedonia has been made largely conditional on its definitive defeat. In our party's assessment, one of the important factors in the nonrecognition of Macedonia is the sterile policy being pursued by the state leadership, headed by Gligorov. It is a policy without ideas, a policy that has not succeeded in establishing a single reliable friendship on the foreign stage.

[Radenkovic] Are you not being too harsh toward the friendships with Turkey, Austria, Germany, Italy, and Albania, which the current regime headed by Gligorov has established?

[Georgijevski] No, not at all. Today we cannot count on a single one of those countries as a true friend. For example, one of these friends—Turkey, or rather its president, Turgut Ozal—has been talking lately about the certain return and reestablishment of a Turkish empire, from the Adriatic to China, and that says a lot about what kind of friendship that is. It shows, for example, that the established "friendship" is not in the interest of the Macedonian nation, and that it was established based on their own interests, not those of Macedonia. The other friendships with the European countries that you mentioned are also extremely subjective, and thus questionable, and they are that way because they were established on unrealistic and unstable foundations.

[Radenkovic] These same friends, at the request of the local regime, have lately been sending "blue helmets" into Macedonia. How necessary are they, and are they a reflection of the events and actual needs here in Macedonia itself?

[Georgijevski] We as a party welcomed the arrival of the international community's observer mission, but we regard the appeal for blue helmets as capriciousness on the part of Gligorov, who did not obtain the approval of the Macedonian parliament for this move, which is the only body that can approve such a thing. Another issue concerns which security analyses served as the basis for the president of the republic's assessment that Macedonia faces an external threat and that it needs the protection of the blue helmets. From the commentary by the world media, we see that there could be clashes here between Albanians and Macedonians, but if we know that they are the coalition in the current government in Macedonia, this means that this assessment is erroneous or malicious. In addition, if the fear of such a conflict does exist, the blue helmets are not necessary because the Macedonian nation is ready and able on its own to prevent any such interethnic tensions, especially with the Albanians.

[Radenkovic] The deployment of blue helmets along the Albanian border is opposed by President Sali Berisha. Why are there plans for their deployment along the border with Serbia, whose leadership was the first to officially announce that it has no pretensions or intention to wage war against Macedonia?

[Georgijevski] In recent months, the official authorities in Macedonia have been constantly and persistently frightening the people with the prospect of war breaking out. We in the VMRO believe that this is propaganda for the purpose of sheer self-preservation of the communist regime, which has already suffered defeat on all levels: on the international scene, domestically, in interethnic relations, and especially in the economic sphere, so that the only thing it has left is to frighten the people with a war from which it will protect and save them.

[Radenkovic] Since in the past you have had very harsh things to say about Serbia and the communist regime in Yugoslavia, why the sudden turnaround in your policy toward them?

[Georgijevski] The shock still felt by the Macedonian public, and especially by officials in the ruling regime in Macedonia, following the meeting with part of the Serbian opposition is the best indicator of the malicious understanding of the policy of the VMRO, of which I am the head. Indeed, in search of a way out of political anonymity, we, like all radical parties, and thus I personally as well, have engaged in exaggeration in some of our statements, which, by the way, has done us a great deal of damage, but it is also true that we are not the people we are thought to be here, or outside Macedonia either. I must say that our attitude toward Serbia and Yugoslavia has been that way because of the presence of the Yugoslav People's Army and the policy of the official Serbian leadership. Now the army is gone, and that policy has also changed, so that our policy toward Serbia has also changed accordingly. Thus, the turnaround that you mention is not a political trick, but rather the essence of a party policy with which Macedonia will definitively become that which it must become—a sovereign Balkan state, peace-loving, and oriented toward all its neighbors who have the same attitude.

[Radenkovic] What is your view of the coalition between Albanians and the ruling Macedonian party, and what can that coalition bring to Macedonian politics and Macedonia in general?

[Georgijevski] That coalition is the strangest phenomenon of the political events in this Balkan region. Within it, for example, the most extreme Albanians have been selected as ministers in the Macedonian government. We feel that this coalition is the last gasp of communism in Macedonia, a transparent attempt to preserve authority and power in this way. It is also certain that this Albanian-Macedonian communist coalition will make our job easier in the next elections. For example, it is the reason for a mass exodus from the party of the communists, which is losing even the most orthodox members, because they have realized that that is the most serious mistake and a right step toward the definitive ruin of the communists in Macedonia.

[Radenkovic] If it comes to pass that you are the winners in the future, how will you handle relations with Albanians, who will remain as they are now, both numerically and in terms of their known, unchanged demands?

[Georgijevski] It is obvious that one of the biggest problems here, in Macedonia, since the disintegration of Yugoslavia is the problem of relations with the Albanian national minority. From the present coalition, we see that the policy of concessions that the current communist government is pursuing toward the Albanians is of no help. Despite what they have—and they have a lot—every concession made to them results in new demands, and that goes on and on. It is certain that if we win the next elections we will have an approach toward the Albanians that differs from the communists' approach to them. We have tried to talk and come to an agreement, but any concessions to the extremist separatist demands coming from the Albanians is out of the question.

[Radenkovic] What is your view, and the view of your party, of the future of relations in the Balkans?

[Georgijevski] A change in current relations is inevitable. Our conception of the Balkans without borders is the option of other progressive forces in Balkan countries as well. I am personally convinced that the Balkans without borders will be the system that guarantees all Balkan nations economic prosperity and equality in every regard. The VMRO will not abandon that general approach, regardless of the problems faced along the way.

[Box, p 6]

Gligorov and the Name of Macedonia

[Radenkovic] You and the top leadership of your party have virulently attacked Gligorov because of his proposal to change the name of Macedonia.

[Georgijevski] We in Macedonia were surprised at Mr. Gligorov's proposal on changing the name of the Republic to the Republic of Macedonia-Skopje. Because until a few days ago he was in fact one of the strongest opponents of changing the current name of our state under any condition. But suddenly he went before the Macedonian public and announced that he had proposed a change in the republic's name. The most surprising thing was the impudence, because he is the president of Macedonia, and to make the circus even greater, we saw that not even this change in name meant anything to the European Community. This means that it was a matter of a few commercial agreements, which mean nothing, while Macedonia was shamefully disgraced. I am not only against any such name change, but will also remain in politics until Macedonia is recognized as a sovereign state under that name.

[Box, p 6]

Gosev and Tupurkovski

[Radenkovic] How true are the stories that the former communists Petar Gosev and Vasil Tupurkovski are leaning toward you?

[Georgijevski] There is no basis to those stories. The talk to the effect that they are scheming with us is not true. There have been no concrete talks about their joining our party. However, it is true that we meet often and that we exchange opinions on essential common issues. This means that we can talk about some kind of verbal mutual support, but not about any concrete agreement on their joining our party.

Kosovo

Bukoshi Calls For Troops 'As Soon as Possible'

AU0601214493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] At the news conference recently held in Geneva, Kosovo's Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi called for the United Nations to station as soon as possible its military troops in Kosovo where, as he said, the situation is very explosive and Albanians are living under the conditions of war every day.

Kosovo's prime minister later spoke about the new elections in Serbia and stressed that the reelection of Slobodan Milosevic, who is considered a war criminal, shows that the way for Serbian expansionism in Kosovo is open. He added that the Albanian people are completely unprotected and left to the mercy of such criminals.

Speaking about the results of the talks with the Serbian side, he said that Serbia is avoiding the solution of the Kosovo problem through peaceful means. He added that Albanians have always favored and still favor dialogue, but a dialogue from equal positions, and not that of the conquered and the conqueror. The Albanians have showed their readiness by participating in all talks proposed by the Geneva conference.

Serbian Authorities Evict Albanians From Flats

AU0601201193 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Serbian authorities continue to increase their repressive measures against Albanians and, as a result, are taking over their houses. The reports stress that Serbian and Montenegrin families returning to Kosovo and Serbian refugees coming from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia are being offered shelter in these houses.

This aggressive campaign of taking over houses, which is greatly intensified in winter conditions, is part of Serbia's plan to increase tension and close every prospect for Albanians in Kosovo.